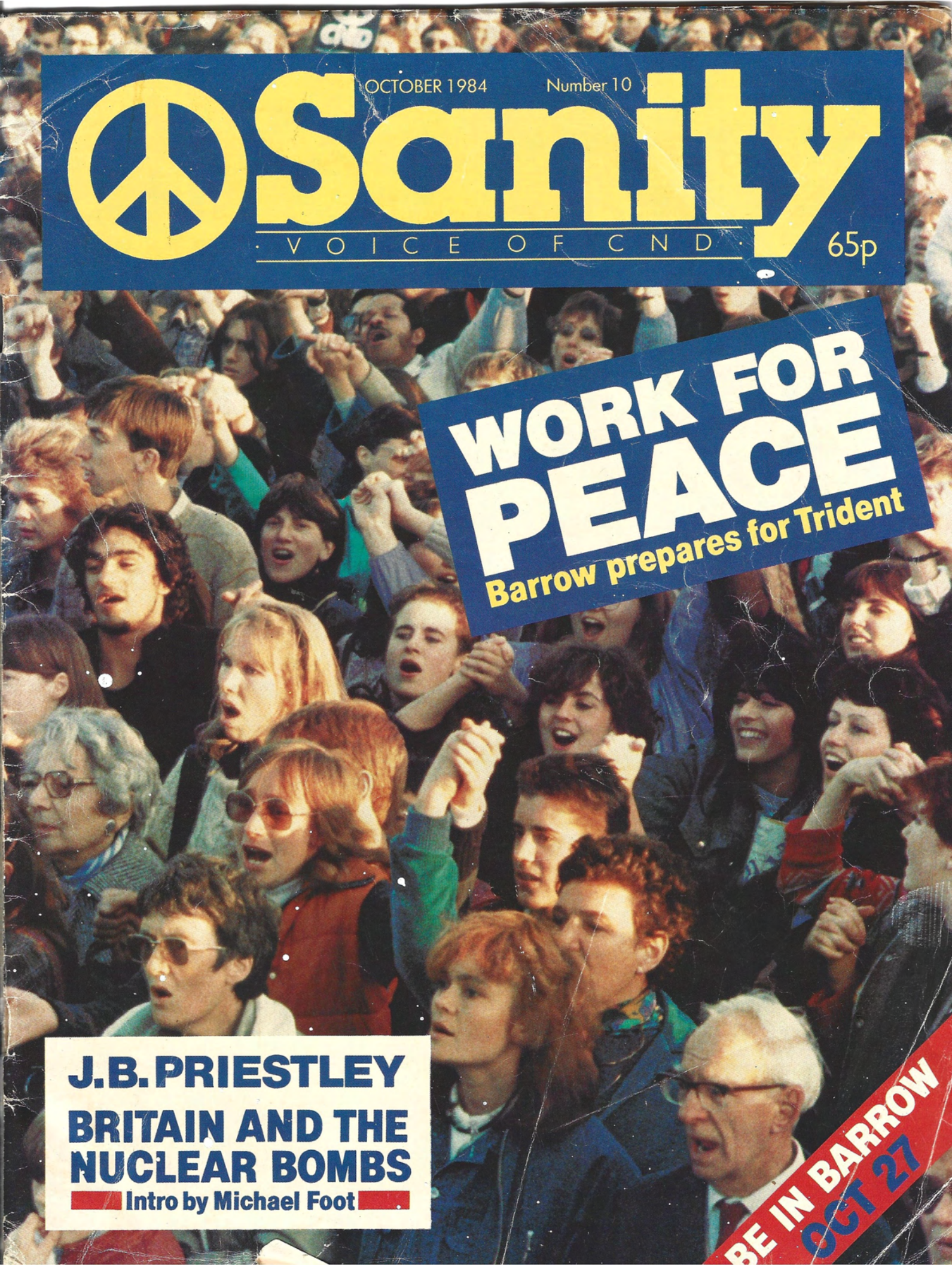
OCTOBER 1984 Number 10

Sanity

VOICE OF CND

65p



WORK FOR PEACE

Barrow prepares for Trident

J.B. PRIESTLEY

BRITAIN AND THE NUCLEAR BOMBS

Intro by Michael Foot

BE IN BARROW OCT 27

britain after nuclear war

november 5th – 15th 1984

a national briefing on the nuclear winter

BY THREE OF THE WORLD'S LEADING AUTHORITIES ON THE SUBJECT:

PROFESSOR PAUL EHRLICH (USA) DR. RICHARD TURCO (USA) DR. ANNE EHRLICH (USA)

A leading Soviet expert has also been invited.

5 November	**LONDON**
All day	Press, T.V., radio interviews.
6 November	**SHEFFIELD**
1.30 p.m.	Local Authority Briefing.
7.30 p.m.	Public Meeting, Octagon Centre, Sheffield University Campus, Western Bank.
	LEEDS
Afternoon	Seminar/lecture, Leeds University,
7.30 p.m.	Public Meeting, Main Hall, Kitson College of Technology, Cookridge Street.
7 November	**NEWCASTLE**
1.30 p.m.	Local Authority Briefing.
7.30 p.m.	Public Meeting, New Tyne Theatre Westgate Road.
	EDINBURGH
All day	Seminar/lecture, Edinburgh University.
7.30 p.m.	Public meeting, Music Hall, Assembly Rooms, George Street.
8 November	**GLASGOW**
All day	Civil Defence/Emergency Planning Conference.
7.30 p.m.	Public Meeting, Henry Wood Centre, Berkeley Street.
9 November	**BIRMINGHAM**
1.30 p.m.	Local Authority Briefing.
Afternoon	Seminar/lecture, Birmingham University.
7.30 p.m.	Public Meeting, Great Hall, Aston University.

10 November	**OXFORD**
All day	SANA Symposium on 'The Global Effects of Nuclear War'.
12 November	**CAMBRIDGE**
All day	Seminar/lecture, Cambridge University.
	NORWICH
Afternoon	Seminar/lecture, University of East Anglia.
7.30 p.m.	Public Meeting, Blackfriars Hall, St. Andrews Street.
13 November	**BRISTOL**
1.30 p.m.	Local Authority Briefing.
Afternoon	Seminar/lecture, Bristol University,
7.30 p.m.	Public Meeting, Watershed, Bristol Exhibition Centre.
14 November	**LONDON**
Morning	Consultations, GLC.
Afternoon	Seminar/lecture, University of London, Imperial College.
15 November	**LONDON**
Morning	Briefing for MPs, House of Commons.
Afternoon	Local Authority Briefing.
7.30 p.m.	Public Meeting, Lecture Hall, Central Hall, Westminster.

For further information about the Speakers, the Nuclear Winter, the University Seminars and the Scientific Symposium or about SANA, contact Rebecca Miles, SANA, London Production Centre, Broomhill Road, Wandsworth, London SW18 4JQ.

For further information about the Local Authority Briefings, Public Meetings or Nuclear Free Zone Authorities, contact Jim Coleman, Nuclear Free Zone Officer, Central Policy Unit, Sheffield City Council, Town Hall, Sheffield S1 2HH.

ORGANISED BY: Steering Committee of Nuclear Free Zone Local Authorities and Scientists against Nuclear Arms

Sanity

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THE ISSUE: How do you work for peace when the only job you can get is building the Trident submarine? The stark choice facing Barrow is between the dole queue or work on Trident. Survival means they must choose to work. Self-respect and family livelihoods depend on it.

But is there an alternative?

CND thinks the best way to work for peace in Barrow is to support the shipyard workers by funding a study which searches for practical and useful alternative work. We will raise the money for a worker who will examine a whole range of options.

CND groups can help by raising funds for the project grant. £12,000 is needed. At the same time as we 'Talk About Trident' we can focus on the general question of conversion and the particular problem facing the people of Barrow. We can work for peace and help them to a future.

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Sanity's unique guide to disarmament action nationwide.

FRONTLINES

Trident warheads – made in USSR?

A convoy of uranium hexafluoride containers (carrying the same substance trapped in the wreck of the *Mont Louis*) is seen leaving British Nuclear Fuels's Springfields Works, near Preston.

The containers regularly take nuclear materials for enrichment by V/O Techsnabexport in the USSR. The MMMU container code, clearly visable, belongs to V/O Sovinflot, the Soviet road transport enterprise.

Enrichment increases the proportion of the fissile isotope U-235, one of two alternative fissile materials essential for nuclear weapons.

Observers have noted that for every unenriched consignment sent out, an equivalent amount of enriched uranium is returned, but this is not necessarily the original material.

Experts say Soviet-enriched uranium is providing about 10 percent of fuel for Britain's AGR nuclear power stations.

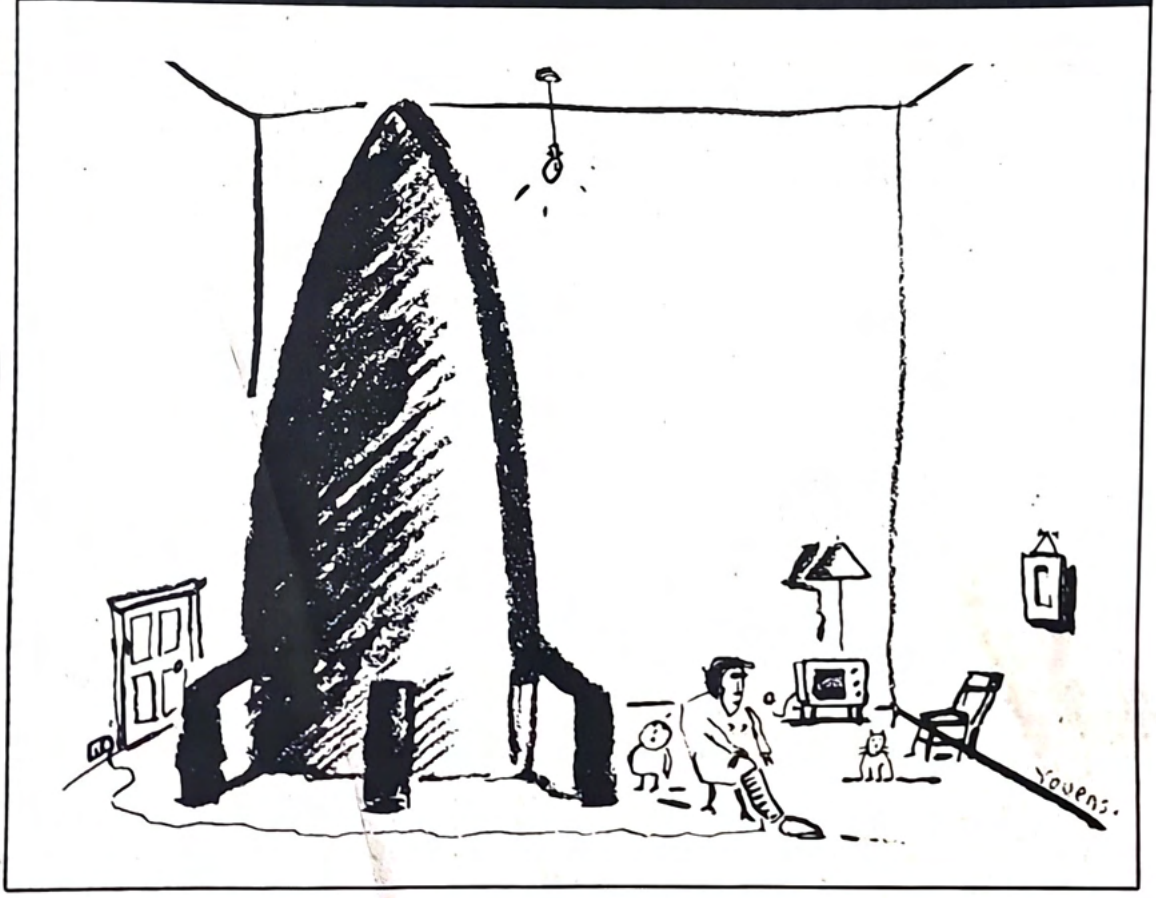
Since, in practice, 'civil' and 'military' supplies of nuclear materials are inseparable it is likely that Soviet-processed nuclear materials will be used to make bombs, including those for Trident. This raises the interesting possibility that the so-called 'independent' deterrent, which is made in America, and paid for by Britain, will use Soviet processed nuclear explosives.

(Faith Eckersall/Martin Bond)

PHOTO: MARTIN BOND

'Hex' – uranium hexafluoride – provides a vital link in the nuclear chain. It is highly radioactive but is carried for long distances, often through built-up areas. This consignment, bound for the USSR, has clear Soviet transportation markings.

YOUENS



New trial for Dickerdem

It is expected that the elderly and ailing Turkish Peace Association President and Nobel Peace Prize nominee, former ambassador Mahmut Dikerdem will be transferred from the hospital where he is receiving treatment for cancer to an Istanbul civilian jail.

The decision comes in the wake of a military appeals court decision ordering a retrial of twenty-three leaders of the Turkish peace movement. Last November Mr Dikerdem and his friends were sentenced by an Istanbul military tribunal to jail terms of five to eight years following a 17-month-long martial law trial.

According to a letter smuggled out by an inmate to Roland Boyes MP, Mr Dikerdem was maltreated during an earlier spell in a military prison. He was chained and manacled whilst being taken for an undisclosed journey around Istanbul in a prison van for refusing to be strip-searched. When transferred, Mr Dikerdem is expected to share a ward of 70 to 80 persons convicted of violent crimes and drug smuggling.

Meanwhile Dikerdem's son Mehmet Ali, who lives in London, reports that solidarity action on the part of CND and other peace movements appears to be beginning to have an effect in Turkey. An August 'peace prisoners' vigil headed by Bruce Kent was widely reported in Turkey. The news even reached the embattled Turkish peace leader in his prison hospital bed.

'Tears came to my eyes', he wrote to his son, 'when I read the news in yesterday's *Milliyet* [Turkey's mass circulation paper] about Monsignor Bruce Kent's extraordinarily noble gesture. Tomorrow I will ask Sevin to bring me CND's address so I can thank this perfect man with a telegram.'

Dikerdem için Londra'da gösteri yapıldı

● Trafalgar Meydanı'nda düzenlenen ve dört saat süren gösteriye, İşçi Partisi lideri Foot ve tanınmış bazı politikacılarla bilim adamları katıldı.

NÜKLEER OLAYCILIĞI LONDRA

BARIŞ Derneği Başkanı Mahmut Dikerdem için dün İngiltere'de bir gösteri yapıldı. Kimisi CND olan İngiltere'deki Nükleer Silahsızlanma Hareketi'nin Genel Sekreteri Katolik Rahip Bruce Kent'in Londra'daki...

● Daily Milliyet, Turkey, August 20th

PARLIAMENT

Back to the Old Boy's Club . . . Parliament returns October 22nd

Within four days of its return, two crucial bills will come before Parliament. One deals with Visiting Forces and the other with Peace Education. Waiting in the wings is a funny little bill which legislates against campsites (only certain kinds, though, if you are a Girl Guide or a member of HM forces, you don't have to comply with the bizarre restrictions which it imposes).

THE ANTI-CAMPERS bill, formally known as the Caravan and Tent Sites Act Number 23, is sponsored by Peter Hubbard-Miles, a former hairdresser who now represents Bridgend, South Wales, as Tory MP. This bill is being opposed by motorcycle clubs, whom it affects, but they very shrewdly recognise that it is mostly aimed at peace camps. Any camp 'established for the training of the young in good citizenship and discipline' is OK.

Education Threat

WHILST MANY Conservatives rail against the Russian threat, they seem to see no irony in imposing restrictions on that much vaunted commodity, freedom, here at home. Edward Leigh, our freedom-loving friend from the Coalition for Peace Through Security, has introduced a bill to amend the Education Act and outlaw peace studies. This directly contravenes the Government's commitment to peace studies as a signatory to the final document of the First United Nations Special Session on Disarmament in 1978, which was ratified again in 1982. Peace studies is a big item on the agenda for the Tory conference; Leigh's bill is simply a reflection of the growing tide of intolerance for freedom of thought. As Gerry Bermingham MP said in opposing the bill:

> *The Hon Member for Gainsborough and Horncastle (Mr Leigh) may say that he does not like CND, but we should not legislate against ideas. Society should be big enough to comprehend ideas, take them on board and defeat them with counter-ideas. To legislate against ideas would take us down a narrow road, leading ultimately to totalitarianism.* (Hansard, July 31st, 1984)

Leigh's bill gets its second reading on October 26th. To find out how your MP voted when it was introduced, contact the Parliamentary Worker at Goodwin Street. Then write or ring your MP and ask them to oppose it on October 26th.

Visiting Forces

PADDY ASHDOWN, Liberal MP for Yeovil, introduces a bill on July 17th asking that Parliament be consulted and informed before further bases are handed over to the US and putting limitations on the extension of immunities from British law. At the moment US troops can escape British justice if they commit a crime, for example while they are out with a Cruise convoy. As Paddy Ashdown said,

> *Visiting forces in Britain enjoy a greater degree of immunity than in other NATO states... In 1980 a secret document leaked to the press revealed that certain NATO countries would have to sign an emergency agreement to give local US commanders certain immunities from their law before US reinforcements could be deployed in Europe. Britain was the only major NATO power not required to give such an undertaking, presumably because the Visiting Forces Act 1952 and the International Headquarters and Defence Organisations Act 1964 already gave such immunities... It is not the Secretary of State, or even the Government, who make the laws of this country; it is Parliament itself.*

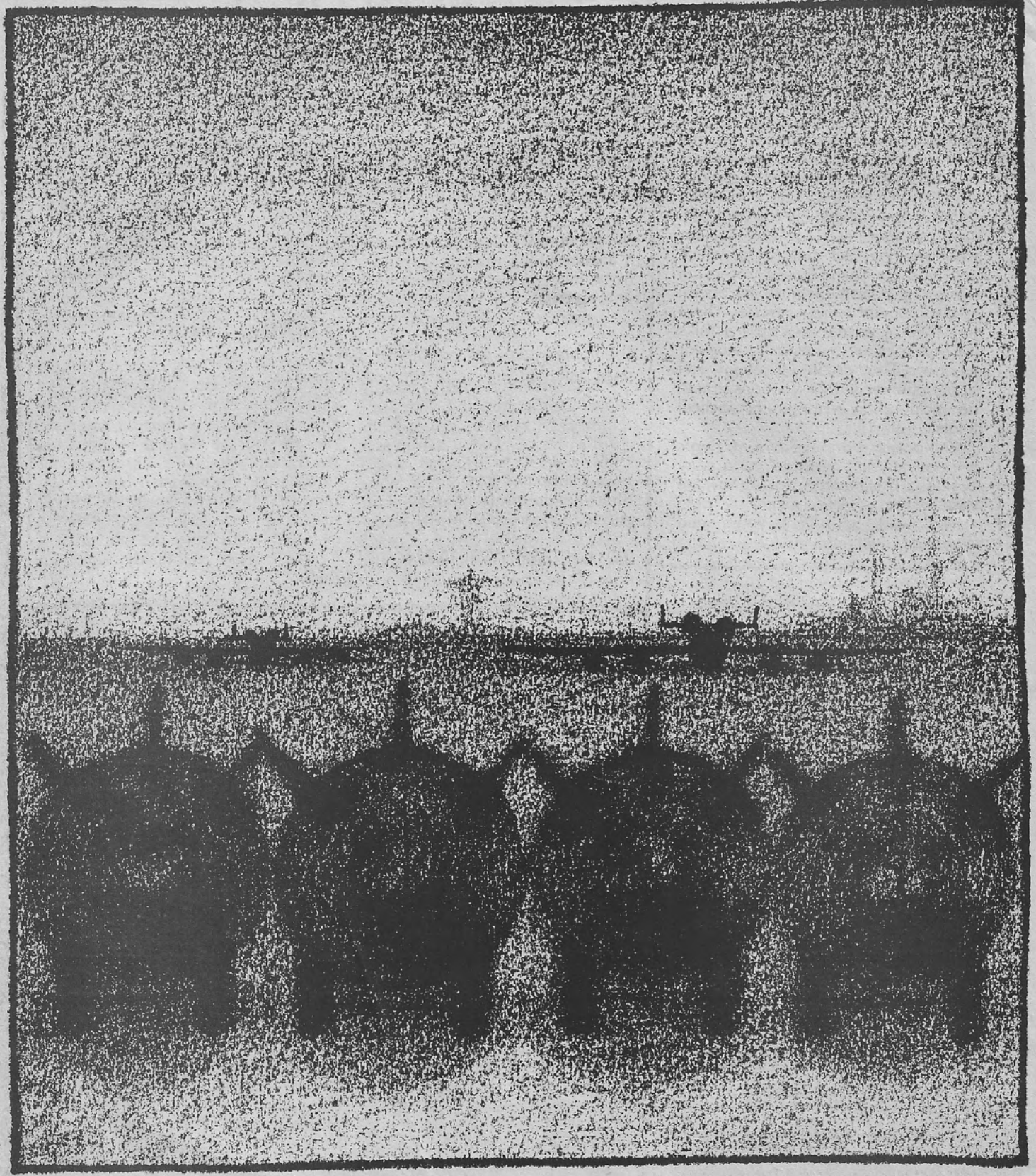
The bill will get its second reading on October 26th, and it is urgent that enough support is mustered for it. It has the support of the Liberal, SDP, Labour and Nationalist parties. Write or ring your MP now, urging support. Send him/her a copy of the bill. Copies are available from *CND Parliamentary Worker*, 11 Goodwin St, London N4 3HQ, along with information and advice on press work around the Bill.

Roger Woddis and the Digger are on holiday.

TRADITIONAL RHYMES FOR MODERN TIMES

With Acknowledgements to the Oxford Book of Nursery Rhymes

Raymond Briggs.



Let's go to the wood, says this pig,
What to do there? says that pig,
To look for my mother, says this pig,
What to do with her? says that pig,
Kiss her to death, says this pig.

Series devised by Mark Smith

FACTFILE 7

Strategic Nuclear Arsenals (USA and USSR)

Nuclear weapons, or rather their 'delivery systems', are usually classified as either *tactical* or *strategic*. Strategic nuclear weapons can reach the USSR from the USA or vice versa, or any target in either the USA or USSR from submarines. Tactical nuclear weapons (the vast majority of which are based by the superpowers in Europe, for use against European targets) have shorter ranges. There have been separate arms control talks for both tactical and strategic nuclear weapons. This has led to frequent rows about whether certain weapons should be included in strategic or tactical totals.

Comparing US and Soviet strategic nuclear arsenals is therefore a risky business. The main point is to show the vast increases undertaken by both superpowers in recent years and planned for the near future.

UNITED STATES
STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles

Titan II	36 missiles	**36 warheads**[1]
Minuteman II	550 missiles	**550 warheads**[2]
Minuteman III	250 missiles	**750 warheads**
Minuteman III (improved)	300 missiles	**900 warheads**

Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles

Poseidon C3	304 missiles	**3,040 warheads**
Trident C4	288 missiles	**2,304 warheads**[3]

Long-range bombers

Free-fall bombs and Short-Range Attack Missiles	**2,378 warheads**[4]
Air-Launched Cruise Missiles	**768 warheads**[5]

TOTAL WARHEADS: 10,726

SOVIET UNION
STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles

SS11	500 missiles	**500 warheads**[6]
SS13	60 missiles	**60 warheads**
SS17(1+3)	120 missiles	**480 warheads**
SS17(2)	30 missiles	**30 warheads**
SS18(1+3)	58 missiles	**58 warheads**
SS18(4)	250 missiles	**2,500 warheads**[7]
SS19(1+3)	300 missiles	**1,800 warheads**[8]
SS19(2)	60 missiles	**60 warheads**

Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles

SS-N-5	9 missiles	**9 warheads**[9]
SS-N-6	384 missiles	**384 warheads**[10]
SS-N-8	280 missiles	**280 warheads**
SS-NX-17	12 missiles	**12 warheads**[11]
SS-N-18	224 missiles	**1,344 warheads**[12]
SS-NX-20	40 missiles	**280 warheads**[13]

Long-Range Bombers

Free-fall bombs and short-range missiles	**290 warheads**

TOTAL WARHEADS: 8,087

NOTES

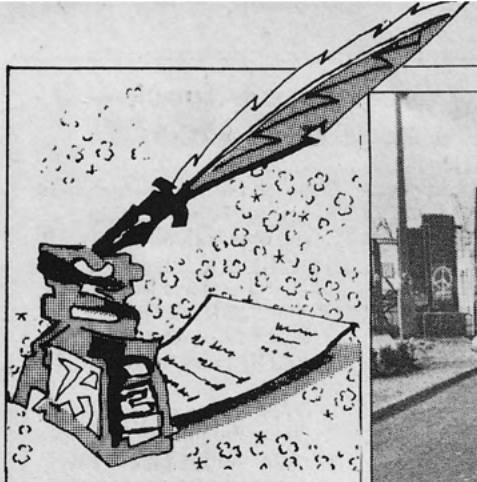
USA

[1] Missiles being withdrawn at the rate of one per month.
[2] 50 missiles to be replaced by advanced Minuteman III.
[3] Includes 96 missiles now in operation; the rest are being phased in.
[4] This is the figure known to be loaded on planes at the moment. Larger stores exist.
[5] This is the number mounted on B52s at the moment. Much larger numbers have already been supplied to the US airforce.

USSR

[6] Being withdrawn, though the rate of withdrawal has slowed recently. Some have more than one warhead but should be considered as one because they can't be independently targeted.
[7] This figure assumes that all older missiles (with 8 warheads) have been upgraded to carry 10. Probably an over-estimate at this time.
[8] The precise mix of older Model-1s and newer Model-3s is unclear. But both models have the same number of warheads.
[9] Most or all of these may have been withdrawn. The Soviets might argue that they have (or had) a European rather than strategic role.
[10] Probably an over-estimate. If two submarines have been withdrawn, the figure would be down to 360.
[11] Has probably been withdrawn.
[12] SS-N-18 missiles can carry one, three or seven warheads. An average loading of six warheads per missile is assumed here, probably an over-estimate.
[13] Assumes that both planned Typhoon submarines are now fitted with the SS-NX-20. It is possible that the submarines are still fitted with the latest version of the SS-N-18 which has seven warheads per missiles.

MORE INFORMATION: *Guide to Nuclear Weapons, 1984 and 85.* By Dr Paul Rogers, Bradford University School of Peace Studies. Price £3.00.



Dear Sanity

Media liberties

Dear *Sanity*,
The excellent August edition of *Sanity* drew attention to the present broad attack on civil liberties faced by almost anybody who holds an opinion divergent from that of our destructive Government. However, no mention was made of one of the most persistent abuses of 'civil liberty' i.e. the right we all possess to have the truth told about us when the media choose to report individual, local or national CND actions. Inaccurate and distorted media coverage is something which has dogged our campaign and is a problem we must tackle if our views are to reach the public in their authentic form.

The Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom (CPBF), in the absence of any statutory duty on the part of the media to correct biased reporting, spearheads the attempt to secure the legal right for individuals and groups to have the truth told about them. It is a sad reflection on our society that such a campaign should be needed, but who in CND has not felt outrage at some time about the way their views have been reported locally or nationally? The right to have the truth told must be integral to all the other rights we seek to defend. CPBF can help individuals and groups obtain a 'right of reply' to inaccurate media coverage at local or national level. They can be contacted at 9, Poland St., London W1.

Stewart Kemp
Sheffield

GATEWAY TO DOOM: The main gate USAF Greenham Common. Jo Bowyer wants action in *your* town each time Cruise comes out.

Thinking about Cruise

Dear *Sanity*,
I have been at Greenham Common on the last two occasions when the launcher has returned from exercises, and it seems to me that we need to rethink our attitudes and reactions to this situation.

Police presence has been less each time the launcher has been taken out, and on the last occasion diversionary games were played by the base, making it even more difficult to predict when and to which gate the launcher would return. They are learning from us the value of flexible and unpredictable behaviour. We should not allow them this initiative.

Media coverage of the event gets less, mentioned only in passing. Many people I have spoken to were unaware that it had been out this time. The public is being immunised into accepting the fact of the presence of the launcher. Soon it will be moved during the day, and after that it will be armed. The USAF are calling the tune, and we are merely reacting rather than acting effectively.

It is impossible to know when the launcher will be brought out, and it will always take us by surprise. However once it is out, we know that it has to return; last time it was out for two nights, the previous time for three. It seems to me that we should use those days. I would like to see women, as soon as they hear that the launcher is out, to come to Greenham as soon as they can, and to stay there until the launcher returns, using the time for blockades, actions, symbolic and otherwise, in order to make it as difficult and as public as possible for the USAF to get the launcher back into the base.

I would also like to see CND and other support groups, during the time Cruise is out, to stand by to blockade all approach roads and roundabouts, once the launcher begins its return. This would cause disruption that could not be ignored by press, government, or public.

Jo Bowyer
Totnes
South Devon

Sign of the Times?

Dear *Sanity*,
I am a member of CND and proud of it, but to my dismay on the way down to Newbury I discovered something which made me ashamed of the movement.

On the way down the M4 I noticed on many bridges and signs that there were CND symbols painted on them.

In my opinion this gives CND a bad image. Only after we regain the image of a respectable movement can we gain the support of more members of our society.

Vandalism is no way to get our points across and in no way will it help us to fulfill our aim, which surely is the aim of any person in their right mind.

I therefore beg of you, think twice before you daub a CND symbol.

Peter Clarke
London

Nukes on trial

We would like to apologise for publishing a letter in the August edition which gave misleading information about the dates of the Nuclear Warfare Tribunal. This event (as advertised elsewhere in the magazine) will be held on January 3rd-6th at City University, London. For full details please contact Christine Kings, CND, 11 Goodwin Street, London N4 3HQ.

Ban the Bomb

Dear *Sanity*,
Do we in CND now have the confidence to use the common shorthand again for our concern: The Bomb?

We need not fear comparisons any more with the movement of the 1958-63 period, which used that slogan 'Ban the Bomb' and had it used against the movement, to parody CND's supposed simplicity. The present movement is larger, more durable and better organised. Honestly. And there is no sign on the horizon of arms-control cosmetics, like those of the 1960s, to reassure the worried citizens. Even if a Mondale made a little progress of that kind, it would have less effect now, because it is not only the political atmosphere that is chilling: the very concepts of a stable nuclear balance, of second-strike deterrence, of fail-safe systems and of effective civil defence have all lost their credibility.

Nor should we fear that slogans will enable the militarists to depict us as ignorant and naive. It is poor slogans, marginal slogans and irrelevant slogans which will get us into trouble, as well as clever and dishonest slogans from our opponents. But if the slogans are sound politically, and neat in expression, they will do certain jobs well, without undermining our intellectual credibility.

Obviously my argument extends beyond one phrase and the possible slogans and responses it can lend itself to. But for the moment, I'm asking for some thought about simple badges, posters, leaflet

headings, placards, banners, chants, songs, banners, tee-shirts, and so on, featuring *The Bomb*, as in *Ban the Bomb, Ban the British Bomb, The Bomb Is No Defence, The Bomb's a Mad Bluff, Ban the Useless Bomb, When Will You Use the Bomb? What's the Bomb For?* etc., etc.

Ian Davison
Glasgow

Praise for Thakara

Dear *Sanity*,
I was taken aback by Patrick Parrinder's review of *America's Children* by James Thakara in your August issue. Parrinder says it adds nothing to Robert Jungk's account of Robert Oppenheimer and the first atomic bomb and the TV serial on the subject.

But I don't have Jungk's book and I missed most of the serial. So I'm very grateful for another chance to understand something of these terrifying and momentous events, and it seems to me that Thakara has both done his research thoroughly and made a heroic attempt to project himself into the inner lives of the principal protagonists: to imagine in detail what their physical and mental life might have been at crucial or typical moments.

What Parrinder calls the 'excruciating' and 'overwritten' prose is largely the result of Thakara's intent to say and imply as much as possible in each phrase or sentence. I agree that this often results in a certain angularity: but it's an intelligent strategy and has the merit of stimulating attention in a way that a smoother style might not.

It's a first novel and, to me, it shows every evidence of impassioned conviction and careful (if not always successful) verbal crafting. I value and admire it very highly and hope that other *Sanity* readers will not be put off by Parrinder's review.

Christopher Cornford
Cambridge

Right not Left Out

Dear *Sanity*,
I read sympathetically Bruce Fraser's letter in the August *Sanity*. No doubt some anti-nuclear Conservatives *feel* left out by CND. But I deny his suggestion about 'the majority of CND members who believe that only one section of society has the monopoly on anti-nuke sentiment'. If we are to have a future, practically everyone in the world must understand with heart and mind those aspects of the nuclear problem which are most obvious and incontrovertible. First among these aspects is the level of nuclear overkill.

I wish Mr Fraser the greatest success with Conservative CND. Our local CND (Poringland and District) had a useful debate which included a 'Peace through NATO' representative last year, and we would be glad to hear from Conservatives (pro- or anti-nuclear) in the Norwich area who would like to discuss nuclear questions with us.

I believe our attitude is shared by most CND members.

Alan Cottey
Norwich

Go with Labour

Dear *Sanity*,
I have been increasingly surprised at *Sanity's* disregard for the Labour Party view of nuclear disarmament. Abandoning the 'balance of terror' of 'consensus' days, the Labour Party has lately re-affirmed its intention to make unilateral nuclear disarmament effective in Britain, one hopes within the course of one parliament.

This is by far the most striking development towards CND's prime aim in recent years, and it seems ungracious and wrong-headed of *Sanity* to ignore it to the extent that it does.

Offering the hand to Conservatives who – contrary to all probability – wish to convert their party to unilateralism, or to Alliance supporters who would press their MPs for unilateral action if the Alliance came to hold a measure of power after the next election is naturally a good idea. However, despite Labour's grave faults over the matter in the past, we now have the opportunity to remind CND supporters that there is a real prospect for unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain, since a potential governing party has committed itself to that policy.

This brave step by the Labour Party deserves far more analysis, comment and just plain support from *Sanity*.

David Marchesi
Bournemouth

Many Paths, One Goal

Dear *Sanity*,
It's a good few months since I last read *Sanity* and I must say how pleased I was with the breadth of vision in such articles as 'The Way Forward'. A few years ago at a CND AGM I remember Bruce Kent saying that 'we must meet people where they are'.

Some of us who have been trying to do just that in church structures and in 'other' political parties have sometimes felt discouraged at the blinkered attitude that there is only one path to walk. One goal yes, but many paths.

We can take heart for there are many signs that the horrendous nature of nuclear weapons and their uselessness in defence is beginning to be understood. Viz the doctors and Conservative CND!

Margot Hutchinson
Chair, SDP for Peace

Knock-Knock — Who's There?

Dear *Sanity*,
Although I have no intention of 'knocking' Tories Against Cruise and Trident, I do feel it is important to bring the following extracts from their information leaflet to the notice of those who would not wish CND to be 'knocked'. It says:

'TACT is seen as a means of rectifying the imbalance in the political image of the anti-nuclear movement, for instance, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.' . . . and 'TACT falls between the two extremes of Unilateralism and Multilaterism. Obviously, for one side to divest itself of all nuclear arms without a corresponding move by the other side is not a serious proposition.'

Are they implying that this really *is* CND's proposition? As an active CND member, I do not consider myself to be either an extremist or a clown and I do hope I can point out misrepresentation when I see it without being accused of 'knocking'.

Judy Green
Bristol
Avon

IMPORTANT PUBLIC NOTICE

TRIDENT NUCLEAR WEAPONS SYSTEM

The Ministry of Defence has lodged a Notice of Proposed Development with Dumbarton District Council in relation to:–

Expansion of the Clyde Submarine Base at Faslane (Garelochhead) and Coulport (Loch Long) in Dumbarton District.

This matter has now been referred by the Ministry of Defence to the Scottish Development Department. Notwithstanding this, the District Council still wishes any views to be sent to the Council as undernoted.

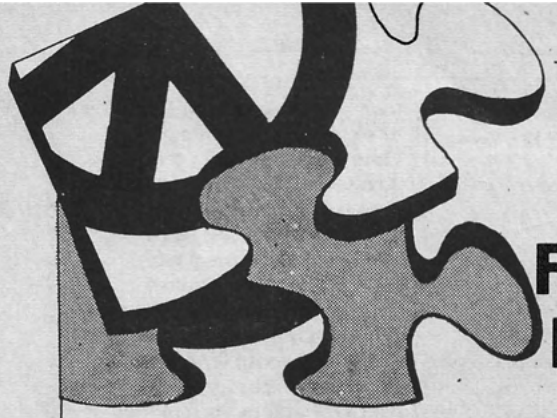
The principal purpose of the proposed expansion is to accommodate the Trident Nuclear Weapons System.

Parliament has seen fit to exempt from normal planning law developments of this kind. Accordingly, the District Council has no power whatsoever over the proposed development. Nevertheless, the District Council would welcome written comments on the proposed expansion and these may be made to the Director of Planning and Development at the address below within fourteen days from the date of publication of this Notice.

A copy of the Notice and associated documents and plans may be inspected at the Council's Department of Planning and Development, 69 Glasgow Road, Dumbarton between the hours of 8.30a.m. and 4.30p.m. – Mondays to Thursdays and 8.30a.m. and 4.15p.m. on Fridays, and will also be available at the Council's libraries.

Dated this 5th day of September, 1984.

IAN LEITCH, Convenor,
Planning and Development Committee,
Dumbarton District Council.



The Way Forward For CND

This month* Sanity's *continuing debate on the future of CND features a review of the political situation likely to face the movement in the coming months; a plea for fewer, simpler but more thorough campaigns; advocacy of the nuclear 'freeze' proposal as a winning and practical demand; a defence of CND's out-of-NATO-now policy; and serious thinking about non-nuclear defence.

No longer just hoping for miracles

The peace movement finds itself in a paradoxical situation. We have suffered a considerable defeat on the issue (Cruise deployment) which brought us together as a mass movement. Moreover we face the prospect of four more years of a right-wing Government whose defence policy we are unlikely to be able to influence (except possibly on the question of Trident). It would not be surprising, therefore, if some campaigners became discouraged and inactive while others felt a growing impatience with CND's policy of winning the 'middle ground'.

But what a foolish moment this would be to give up! If Cruise deployment was a setback for us, it was a disaster for the Government. Opposition to Cruise remains high and continues to grow. The Dutch decision to postpone deployment has reopened the whole 'modernisation' issue. Soon the Belgian government must decide what to do. And pressure is mounting for a referendum in Italy.

Meanwhile the very presence of the new weapons, together with the breakdown at Geneva and the deployment of new Soviet missiles in Eastern Europe, serves to reinforce the anti-nuclear argument. The public debate of the last few years has radically undermined public confidence in NATO's first-use policy. A wide-ranging debate is now in progress about the relationship between the defence of Western Europe, nuclear weapons and the US.

Most important of all, however, is the erosion of public faith in nuclear deterrence *as such* that the events of last winter appear to have produced.

Since the breakdown of the Geneva talks last December we have been predicting that NATO would pay a heavy price for deployment. What is astonishing is not that we were right, but – if the recent Gallup poll is to be believed – the extent to which we were right. Last September 36 per cent of the population opposed basing British defence policy on the possible use of nuclear weapons. That was roughly in line with the one-third of the population who have normally been responsive to CND's arguments over the last 25 years. Despite all our campaigning against Cruise we had (as the General Election showed so clearly) made no significant progress in discrediting nuclear deterrence.

Today, however, 50 per cent support a non-nuclear defence policy. (Support for a defence policy based on the possible use of nuclear weapons fell from 51 per cent last September to 39 per cent in May.) If this poll is to be trusted, the critical breakthrough into the 'middle ground' is under way.

NATO's action in going ahead with deployment in the face of majority opposition has alienated public support to an unprecedented degree. On the central issue – non-nuclear defence – we are now reaching the middle third of opinion.

The peace movement has reached a new threshold. We have to learn how to organise and consolidate an irresistible tide of majority opinion. We should resist pressures to behave like a heroic and embattled minority – bearing witness, hoping for a miracle. From now on our forward planing should rest on the confident belief that non-nuclear defence has become a realistic policy option for the next Government.

Some people feel that to focus the campaign on non-nuclear defence is too ambitious. Instead we should concentrate on more 'achievable' demands to halt the escalation. That is what we have done since 1979. For three years we campaigned against Cruise. We carried the majority with us. Then came the election. Had the voters perceived the nuclear issue as a choice between escalation and the status quo they would have supported the latter. But they did not. The Conservatives said little about Cruise and less about Trident. instead they homed in on the question of complete 'one-sided' nuclear disarmament by Britain.

If the peace movement spends the next four years concentrating on campaigns against escalation in particular (Trident) or in general (Freeze), it will end up in exactly the same position as in 1983 – its modest demands outflanked by a Tory offensive against 'one-sided' disarmament. Once again we will meet the doorstep response: 'You would leave us defenceless.'

Traditionally CND has posed the issue negatively, in language suggestive of high-minded self-sacrifice: Britain should 'give up' its nuclear weapons. (The clear implication is that there is some advantage in having them.) The people who can be mobilised with such language have already been mobilised. Others may think us admirable – but altogether too idealistic for the real world. Our language needs to connect with the popular – and not unreasonable – belief that Britain *does* need to be defended. To gain new support we should put the unilateralist proposition positively – Britain should adopt a less provocative, less risky, non-nuclear defence policy.

A broad campaign for non-nuclear defence could have an important impact on the outcome of the next election. It would deprive the Conservatives of one of their most effective 1983 arguments – 'You would leave us defenceless.' And it would ensure that whatever Government emerged – majority Labour, minority Labour, anti-Tory coalition, minority Tory – it would be faced by a coherent, active and massively popular peace movement.

If a tide of opinion in favour of non-nuclear defence is going to have an impact in the election of 1987/8, then it must be mobilised and consolidated well before the election itself. And the key to forming opinion is talking to people – getting bodies onto doorsteps. Should we think about launching a national petition during the pre-election period? Could we set ourselves the goal of speaking to a majority of the country's voters? For a year or eighteen months door-to-door (and workplace) canvassing might become the central activity of CND. All our other events, publications, advertising, opinion polling etc. could be tied into the promotion of the National Petition. But not just CND. The scale and effectiveness of the campaign would be maximised if it were run by a 'National Non-Nuclear Defence Petition Committee' involving, in addition to peace groups, the Labour and Liberal Parties, the SNP and Plaid Cymru, Churches, trade unions, nuclear-free zone authorities, women's organisations, etc. Similarly broad alliances could be established in each locality.

The precise wording of the Petition would be a matter for negotiation between the sponsoring organisations. Here is an outline of possible contents, devised with an eye to creating a platform broad enough to appeal across Labour and Alliance voters:

> We call on the British Government to work towards a non-nuclear defence policy for Britain. As first steps towards this goal:
>
> 1) –scrap Trident
> 2) –remove Cruise
> 3) –freeze deployment, production, research
>
> Open discussion with NATO partners about:
>
> 1) –no first use
> 2) –withdrawal of battlefield nuclear weapons

3) –moving towards non-provocative, non-nuclear defence of Europe
4) –disengagement from US nuclear umbrella
Open discussion with USSR about mutual reduction of conventional forces in a non-nuclear Europe.

It might be desirable to explain in accompanying literature that there was no expectation of the existing Government adopting such policies, but that the petition would be presented to the next Government within, say, one month of its formation.

At present CND might have some difficulty with this approach. The stress on a Govenment 'working towards' non-nuclear defence may raise fears about the likely pace of change. (In practice that would depend on the outcome of the election and the post-election strength of the peace movement.) More controversial in CND is the assumption that it is meaningful to move towards non-nuclear defence within the context of NATO. By a narrow majority, CND Conference has taken the opposite view. CND is out of line here not only with its political allies in Britain, but also with the other major Western European preace movements. Revision of the CND line on NATO – perhaps towards a policy of seeking to make continued membership of the Alliance conditional on its denuclearisation within a specified time period – would be a necessary step in the construction of the kind of broad alliance for non-nuclear defence that is proposed here.

The events of this last winter have enabled us to make much more substantial inroads into popular support for nuclear deterrence than ever before. NATO's pro-nuclear consensus lies, for the moment, in tatters. But the damage done by NATO 'modernisation' can be repaired. Over the next few years massive resources will be devoted to reconstructing the nuclear consensus. In face of this the peace movement must find new ways of entering into, and sustaining, dialogue with the mass of ordinary people. Unless we consolidate and extend the gains of the last six months we will, at the next election, find ourselves outflanked and marginalised just as we were in 1983.
James Hinton.

Unilateral nuclear disarmament — bedrock of the movement

At its June meeting, Labour CND executive unanimously supported the following statement of aims for CND in 1984:

Unilateral nuclear disarmament is the essential campaigning programme that has been the bedrock of the unity of the movement for more than 20 years. We campaign both locally and nationally – on doorsteps, on marches, in non-violent direct action – to win majority opposition to all nuclear weapons, and for unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain as a massive step in breaking the spiral of the deployment and manufacture of nuclear weapons world-wide.

We further campaign for a unilateralist government that will enact the necessary measures, both through our general campaigning and by the work of specialist sections with political parties. However, CND itself does not give formal support to any one particular party.

Since the start of the campaign we have been fortunate in attracting people not at home in any political party. But right from the beginning some of them have tried to use CND as a substitute. If CND is to be successful, this pressure must be continuously resisted.

At one time it took the form of urging CND to run parliamentary candidates of its own. Its modern form is the advocacy of a kind of peace coalition, which would even embrace the only British political party established partly to oppose unilateral nuclear disarmament: the Social Democratic Party.

Fortunately a coalition or a new popular front, though beloved by the media for it would make meaningful social change impossible, is not on the real political agenda. If it were, it would be highly damaging to CND for it would negate CND's gains in the Labour Party and consquently CND's chance to move nuclear unilateralism to the centre of the political agenda.

CND must not pander to it or waste its time in giving too much emphasis to policy commitments which – as they solely depend on their agreements by other government – can easily be scuppered once they have served their electoral purpose. Nuclear freezes, nuclear halts, nuclear cutbacks, advocating this or that in the NATO council – are not issues around which CND should campaign.

CND is about British unilateral nuclear disarmament. It must remain that way.

In order to achieve these campaigning objectives, we strongly commend the following points:

1) Unilateral nuclear disarmament must be pressed for on a broad front, and with it British withdrawal from NATO. In so doing, the problems of the day may be used as 'openers'. These are issues such as war-fighting strategies, the Euro-missiles, the uselessness of nuclear weapons for the defence of Britain, opposition to Trident, and so on.

2) CND must disseminate information as broadly as possible beyond its membership to British people as a whole, especially those in a position to form and change opinion, for example Members of Parliament. We must campaign for unilateral nuclear disarmament among the widest possible audience to gain acceptance of this by pointing out the positive aspects of what we have to say: nuclear weapons are *not* a deterrent – they do *not* defend us. Publications such as 'Europe's Folly' and 'The Death of Deterrence' are excellent in this respect.

3) We must have a public presence as a campaign wherever possible. Besides lots of local activities, we need at least two major national demonstrations each year, which directly draw attention to the strength of support for the campaign and boost the morale of peace activists. The women of Greenham Common have inspired the peace movement, in Britain and throughout the world, with their dedication and determination. CND as a whole should emulate the creative and imaginative example of Greenham and Greenpeace in getting the message across. We must never be afraid to shock.

4) CND should encourage work in political parties at all levels, by people who are members of them, supported by the appropriate specialist sections.

5) We must strengthen our work in the trade unions, where substantial support for CND exists. There are already excellent examples of the work trade unions and their members can do in forwarding the aims of CND: NUPE's peace pack and its educational work generally; the support of local government unions for 'nuclear free zone' policies of local councils; the boycotting by Transport and General Workers Union members of the transportation of nuclear waste. We should support and encourage more direct action of this kind by trade unionists. CND should use all opportunities to publicise its case at meetings of the labour movement. Bruce Kent's address to the recent Miners Gala in Edinburgh is to be commended – when he pointed to the links between the struggle of the miners and the struggle of the peace movement. During their dispute, miners have made precisely this connection between their fight and ours.

6) CND has strong support both among those not affiliated to any political party and among those who are in political parties. In the Labour Party we have succeeded in making unilateral nuclear disarmament the official policy of the party: a commitment which must be strengthened and deepened. In the Liberal Party a similar attempt may be appropriate, although its alliance with the SDP provides some difficulty in this regard. Among minority parties, the Ecology Party has always supported unconditionally the aims of CND; and for many years, the Communist Party has supported the policies of CND.

Even in the Tory party and among Tory supporters, there are people who are, at times, willing to be unorthodox on

questions of defence and foreign policy issues. There are many who object to the siting of Cruise and Trident, as well as those who go all the way with the aims of CND. But they are not necessarily unorthodox on other matters. Some of the so-called Tory Wets are Atlanticist hawks. The same applies to people who are consistent in supporting one political party, while considering themselves unaffiliated.

7) We believe that unilateral nuclear disarmament will ultimately be enacted by a Labour government, provided the pressure is kept up in an undiluted form. But as this increasingly moves to the centre of the political agenda some successes may be obtained even before a Labour government takes office. The broader the base, the more certain is success. In Britain, successful opposition to establishment foreign policy has always been based on the left, but has included unorthodox elements from other strands of opinion.

8) An essential condition of CND's success is that, while remaining flexible about campaigning tactics, we must never water down our unilateralist demands. Above all, we have to remain tolerant about various campaigning approaches. We do not all have to do the same things.

Labour CND

Time to Campaign Against NATO

It is time CND spelt out the case for withdrawal from NATO and began boldly to challenge the claims made by past and present British governments to support our continued membership of that organisation. For too long we have maintained silence on the issue. This has weakened our campaign against nuclear weapons and bases. It is not enough to oppose the nuclear arms race or to publicise the data regarding nuclear winter or to concentrate on campaigning against particular weapons systems, as we have on Cruise and Trident. We must ask why we are locked into the nuclear arms race, and what is the strategy behind the weapons systems that we oppose.

Often we have been content to talk of US war-fighting strategy. Many of our leaflets emphasise that Cruise missiles are American. We campaign against US bases. We should make it clear that Cruise missiles are US owned and controlled because of American dominance in the NATO alliance. The deployment of Cruise here and in Europe is due to NATO nuclear-war-fighting strategy. Withdrawal from NATO would mean an end to the special relationship with the US which has made us NATO's front-line.

As long as we stay in NATO, we remain part of a nuclear alliance and we will be required to support that alliance by complying with its demands. This will always take the form of increased military spending on all new weapons systems, nuclear or conventional, and providing strategic support facilities, including air-fields, weapon dumps, surveillance centres and all the ancillary services including the de-contamination units at US bases.

In short, only total withdrawal from NATO will guarantee that our demands for the removal of nuclear weapons and nuclear bases will be carried out. Remaining in NATO as a non-nuclear member would be a meaningless gesture. The overall nuclear strategy would still dominate the alliance, and in time of tension, NATO nuclear bases and weapons would be re-deployed here. The concept of remaining in NATO in order to change it from within into a non-nuclear alliance is a fantasy based on incredible mis-understanding of the nature and origin of NATO. NATO is a military alliance dominated by America, created to guarantee US nuclear supremacy over the USSR by ensuring that Europe remained divided after the last war and in a state of readiness for the next. NATO's global role is a consequence. Intervention in other countries is justified in terms of opposition to Communism and protection of NATO's interests. The armed forces which imposed dictatorships on Greece in 1967 and Turkey in 1980 were NATO forces. The NATO bases in Turkey and Greece and the Cruise base at Comiso in Sicily are of vital importance for intervention in the Middle East or against Libya.

It is a deception to encourage the notion that NATO could become non-nuclear. It is really asking America to give up nuclear weapons unilaterally whilst at the same time we give up the right to initiate change in East/West relations by acting independently of America. NATO will only become non-nuclear by its dissolution. Britain's withdrawal is the only way to distance this country from its aggressive nuclear war plans. Even were it possible that a non-nuclear NATO could emerge, it would still be a war-fighting alliance, not the acceptable cosy little alliance which Owen Greene portrayed in his article in *Sanity* (August edition).

Modern conventional weapons are now equal to many battlefield nuclear weapons in lethality. Any Western military alliance will exist to divide Europe, maintain the capitalist war machine and be a lasting obstacle to peace. The alternative to NATO is not another alliance or pact. The alternative to NATO is for this country to be clearly seen to offer no threat to any other and thereby be able to work for peaceful co-existence and co-operation.

Instead of avoiding the issue of NATO, we should take every opportunity to state our opposition to continued membership. We should expose the lies which claim that NATO exists to protect our peace, freedom and democracy. In our constitution, we state that we are committed to the unilateral abandonment by Britain of nuclear weapons, nuclear bases and nuclear alliances. The only nuclear alliance to which we belong is NATO, but of course we oppose all other nuclear alliances, which effectively means the Warsaw Pact. We should therefore campaign against all nuclear alliances, but we can only withdraw from the organisation that we are in. A clear campaign identifying the role NATO is playing in the nuclear arms race would gain momentum. We would not be alone. In other European countries, opposition to NATO is growing. In Spain in June, 500,000 people took part in a

NEXT ISSUE
Defending Britain without the Bomb

Sanity brings you possibly the most important and certainly the most controversial issue facing the peace movement – the debate about non-nuclear defence options for Britain.

- **Important** because, as every doorstep campaigner knows, people may accept that nuclear weapons are no defence, but demand to know how best they can be defended.
- **Controversial** because the whole area has complex and far-reaching implications affecting deeply held moral and political convictions widespread in the peace movement.

Contributors are drawn from both inside and outside the peace movement and include:

**Michael Randle,* chair of the Alternative Defence Commission

**Colonel Jonathan Alford,* Deputy Director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies

**Owen Greene,* author of *Europe's Folly: The Facts and Arguments about Cruise* (CND Publications, 1983).

**Lynne Jones,* author of *Keeping the Peace* (Women's Press, 1983).

demonstration to oppose Spanish membership of NATO and against US bases in Spain. In Greece the present government came to power on the promise to leave NATO. France is no longer a member of NATO's military command, and Switzerland, Austria and Sweden are non-aligned as is our nearest neighbour, Ireland. The Green Movement in Germany is opposed to NATO as are many peace groups throughout Europe. In Britain there is incredible ignorance about NATO. It is time CND started to change public opinion by presenting the truth about NATO. We should start now!

Joy Hurcombe

Campaigning — the local angle

CND has a limited range of campaigning resources, each with limited contact points with those people we are trying to reach, be they politicians, planners, special groups or the general public. We must, therefore, maximise the effectiveness of each contact.

The National organisation and the Specialist Sections can deal at their level with particular groups, but their access to the public is constrained in a number of ways, e.g.

1. by a mainly sceptical, hostile or indifferent press.
2. by limited access to TV and radio, usually on their terms not ours.
3. by the cost of mass advertising.

The other main point of contact with the public is through local groups and their members.

However, all sections of CND and other organisations e.g. WDC, INLAW, Peace Camps) compete at present for the attention and use of local resources. Local groups are rarely diversified as widely as the national campaign. It is my impression that since the arrival of Cruise missiles in this country, the diverse nature and fragmentation of the campaign has created a serious strain on local resources (e.g. the closeness of the Coventry and June 9th demos). This has sown a degree of confusion: 'What do they want us to do?' and 'We can't possibly cope with all this' are frequently heard cries.

We must recognise that there is a *limit* to the amount any local group can deal with and a limit to the number of national and regional campaigns they can effectively contribute to. Energy must be left for local initiatives and needs.

What can be done to help? I would like to make a few suggestions.

1. Leadership and organisation by National CND of properly paced and integrated campaigns is needed so that local groups can focus on the current campaign, working their particular skills and requirements in with it.

2. It should be recognised that campaigning runs in seasons (ie Autumn and Winter/Spring) not in months. For example, if a group has planned to follow the national lead and focus on Trident this Autumn, it is unlikely to have the resources to respond effectively to any additional campaign.

3. The planning and organising time scales of local groups should be taken more into account. Anyone planning events in which they want others to take part must bear

in mind the cycle of activity in a local group. The decision-making and organising is usually carried out through monthly meetings. Communication with the large majority of members, who do not like coming to meetings, is through newsletters. (Telephone trees are for real emergencies.)

So, if you want local group support for an event, the time scale looks something like this:

- Notify the groups involved with main details; you can then wait up to four weeks for a monthly meeting.
- Group adopts idea and begins to plan and organise; members informed via newsletter (which takes about two weeks to produce and distribute).
- Final details sent to groups for them to make final arrangements at their next meeting, say one to two weeks prior to event.

So apart from inevitable emergencies, a group needs about ten weeks to participate fully in a campaign.

4. CND nationally should provide timely, straightforward resources for local groups; for example,

- good leaflets (2/4 sides of A5) on each campaigning topic, to be bought cheaply for free distribution and possible overprinting. The proliferation of Cruise leaflets (how many have you seen?) is but one indicator of the need. Why do we indulge in such duplication of effort?
- a series of posters to go with the leaflets.
- educational material suitable for use in exhibitions.

Finally, in what way can local groups uniquely assist in helping to take our message to the public?

Most people are not going to receive our message unless we get it into their homes. As noted, our access to TV, radio and the press is constrained. In the street we will only be seen by the small percentage of people who are about at the time.

My conclusion is that we have to push our message through letter boxes in the form of leaflets or news-sheets and that we should do it regularly (say three to four times a year). This is already being done in some places. Why not make it a nationally co-ordinated activity and benefit from central skills and mass production?

This approach needs lots of people who can be mobilised into giving a small amount of time – just what we now have in our hundreds of local groups. Although it does not supplant good door-to-door canvassing, it can enhance it and provide far wider distribution of our message.

People *may* not read the message when they get it, but if they never get it, they *cannot* read it.

So, local groups are vital and they need national resources and good planning if their thousands of members are going to campaign to maximum effect.

Richard Bloomfield

CND, Public Confidence and Non-Nuclear Defence

If CND is to bridge the qualitative gap between being a successful consciousness-raising organisation and becoming a politically effective means of enabling British unilateral nuclear disarmament, it must, very soon, address people's legitimate concerns about national safety. This means that it must identify and advocate non-nuclear defence policies at the same time as it continues to press for wider understanding of current nuclear weapon strategies, particularly in regard to Europe.

There is a great deal of public unease on these issues. One has only to remember recent public opinion poll findings against Cruise, Trident and the continued presence of United States bases upon British soil to realise how far we have come since the late 1970s. However, at the ballot box, where it counts, people will still go out and empower a party which has no intention of giving them any of those things. The base reason can only be fear. Fear for personal safety in a dangerous world (a fear which we can address by patiently pressing explanations of how our Government's defence policy is likely to explode in our faces at a time of great crisis). Fear also, assiduously fostered through the media and other contact agencies by the Establishment, that CND is a 'peace at any price organisation' *(Daily Mail)* which seeks only to throw away national 'defence' and trust to luck.

Making the crucial jump to political effectiveness means enabling debate about active non-nuclear defence. The 1983 report of the Alternative Defence Commisssion (whatever happened to that?) is an obvious and potent resource which must be popularised. The Netherlands branch of Pax Christi submitted a report to its 1981 Bishop's Conference which is a model of cogency on the topic of unilateral initiatives aimed at enabling general multilateral disarmament, yet it has never been introduced to the British debate.

Perhaps CND should think about setting up a working group for the purpose of identifying the status of current thinking on non-nuclear defence, so that serious nuclear disarmers, now present in all political parties, may press, as part of a well publicised cross-political campaign, for balanced debate and rational disarmament proposals from them all?

Mike Cooper.

The Freeze — Practical and Winning slogan

CND's policy has always been unilateral nuclear disarmament for Britain and withdrawal from NATO. It supports unilateral initiatives from the two superpowers, but has never, as far as I know, advocated total unilateral nuclear disarmament by either the USA or the USSR, thus leaving the other superpower with a monopoly of nuclear weapons. This policy of unilateral initiatives by the superpowers (such as slashing their nuclear stockpiles drastically) leading to bilateral or multilateral agreement to total nuclear disarmament would seem to be the only realistic one to adopt, even though all of us in CND are probably nuclear pacifists and could not personally condone possession of any nuclear weapons under any circumstances.

The important thing to remember is that we are a campaign to achieve a political and moral aim: the abolition of all nuclear weapons. We are not a religious sect or ideology intent only on keeping our holy creed 100 per cent pure and uncompromised: nuclear disarmament is not merely a purist ideal, it is a realistic, achievable policy.

However, we have to move from the position we are now in (i.e. an ever-increasing nuclear arms race) towards our ideal in stages. It is not realistic to expect our aims to be achieved in one massive leap. In the mid-1960s much controversy was caused within the campaign by the release of a CND document called 'Steps towards Peace', which advocated several intermediate steps which could realistically be taken in the short term, not to achieve total nuclear disarmament, but to take us some way along that road. Today a similar debate is taking place in CND as to what priority we should give to the call for a 'freeze' on nuclear weapons deployment, to British withdrawal from NATO, etc.

We would all like to see nuclear weapons abolished today rather than tomorrow, but it is not going to happen like that. Britain is not going to get rid of its nuclear weapons at least until there is a change of government, and before the superpowers can start taking unilateral initiatives for nuclear disarmament, the arms race must be stopped. Before Cruise can be 'sent back' or, preferably, scrapped altogether, deployment of Cruise must be halted. Therefore a nuclear freeze should, in my view, be the no.1 short-term priority for CND and the peace movement at this time. Once a freeze has been achieved, we can then prioritise our next short-term step: removal of Cruise, and unilateral initiatives from the superpowers. Only by this step-by-step approach, taking into account the political realities of the world situation as it is today, can we hope to maximise effective public pressure to achieve policy changes by governments.

Millions of people will support a 'freeze' campaign who would not support unilateral nuclear disarmament, and we need to encourage these millions to put pressure on the world leaders now. Each small step achieved will be a step back from the nuclear abyss and towards our goal, but before we can point the world in the right direction we must first halt the headlong rush to destruction.

Whilst pushing for short-term initiatives such as the 'freeze' we should continue to campaign for total nuclear disarmament by all non-violent methods available to us, including direct action. The relatively few of us willing to break the law by occupying a nuclear base should, whilst continuing our NVDA aginst all nuclear weapons and policies, also be prepared to add our voices to the millions who do not go that far, but will support a nuclear freeze. Only by all-out pressure on all fronts for both short and long term policies can we hope to win.

Tony Papard.

Bradford School of Peace Studies Publications available from the CND Bookshop

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Malcolm Chalmers
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PERSPECTIVES

Fruits of persistence

PHOTO: LABOUR PARTY

HUGH JENKINS

Hugh Jenkins was Labour MP for Putney from 1964 until 1979. From 1974 to 1976 he served in the Labour government as Minister for Arts. Later he joined the Labour benches in the House of Lords as Lord Jenkins of Putney. A long-standing supporter and member of CND, he became national chairperson of the campaign from 1979 to 1981. He continues to work as CND vice-president by speaking, writing and broadcasting as well as persistently asking questions in the House of Lords.

When one recalls the often bitter public hostility of earlier days and compares it with the wide acceptance of the anti-nuclear case to-day, it becomes clear that persistence produces results, providing the argument is good.

It is within the wider context of greater public support that progress can be seen even in such unpromising areas as the House of Lords.

I have been a member of the unelected Chamber for three years and in that time have asked many questions about nuclear disarmament and related peace matters. So many, indeed, that a new rule was introduced which limits the number of oral questions a peer may ask.

The opposition front benches acquiesced in this and I made no fuss, for, even within the new limits, in one way or another I can raise as many matters as my waning energies and ingenuity will permit.

Even now, at any time a peer may have three oral questions on the Order Paper and my usual practice is to maintain a fair number of questions for written answer on the paper, and to transfer one from written to oral every time I ask a question. This means that although I may not have more, I never have less, than three orals waiting to be asked.

Then there are speeches to be made in debates, discussions to be initiated, supplementaries on others' questions, interventions after statements and so on.

It has been made clear from time to time that some peers find all this a little irritating.

I can understand and even sympathise. It must be very tiresome to be reminded so often that unless the Government changes its policy one is the last of one's line. Sometimes to be told in so many words that it is no use putting one's heir's name down for Eton – for, on present form, in ten years time both the offspring and Eton will be radioactive dust.

These things have to be said, and said time and again, but protest must be expected. No one likes to be reminded of his own mortality let alone that of humanity as a whole.

Thus, Baroness Gardner of Parkes recently:

'My Lords, does the Minister agree that these slightly varied but basically repetitive questions on the nuclear deterrent by the Noble Lord, Lord Jenkins of Putney, not only take up an excessive amount of time of this House but are questions of an alarmist nature attempting to distort the defence situation and that they may actually be causing unnecessary anxiety to the members of the general public?' *(Lords Hansard 17.5.84)*

Lord Trefgarne, who is a junior defence Minister, replied that he did his best to allay unnecessary anxiety; and from the Opposition front bench, Lord Boston of Faversham, recently appointed Labour Defence spokesman, endorsed the urgency of my question, which was about the nuclear freeze.

I congratulated Trefgarne on his increasing understanding of the real danger of nuclear war and urged him to resist the endeavours of his noble friends to shove his head back into the sand.

There was quite a useful exchange in which Lord Gladwyn took part from the Liberal front bench and Fenner Brockway urged the Government to respond to Soviet proposals.

It was Trefgarne who finally admitted the existence of more than 100 US military 'locations' in this country after a series of questions in which I was aided by Duncan Campbell.

Has the effort over the years been worthwhile? Has anything been achieved?

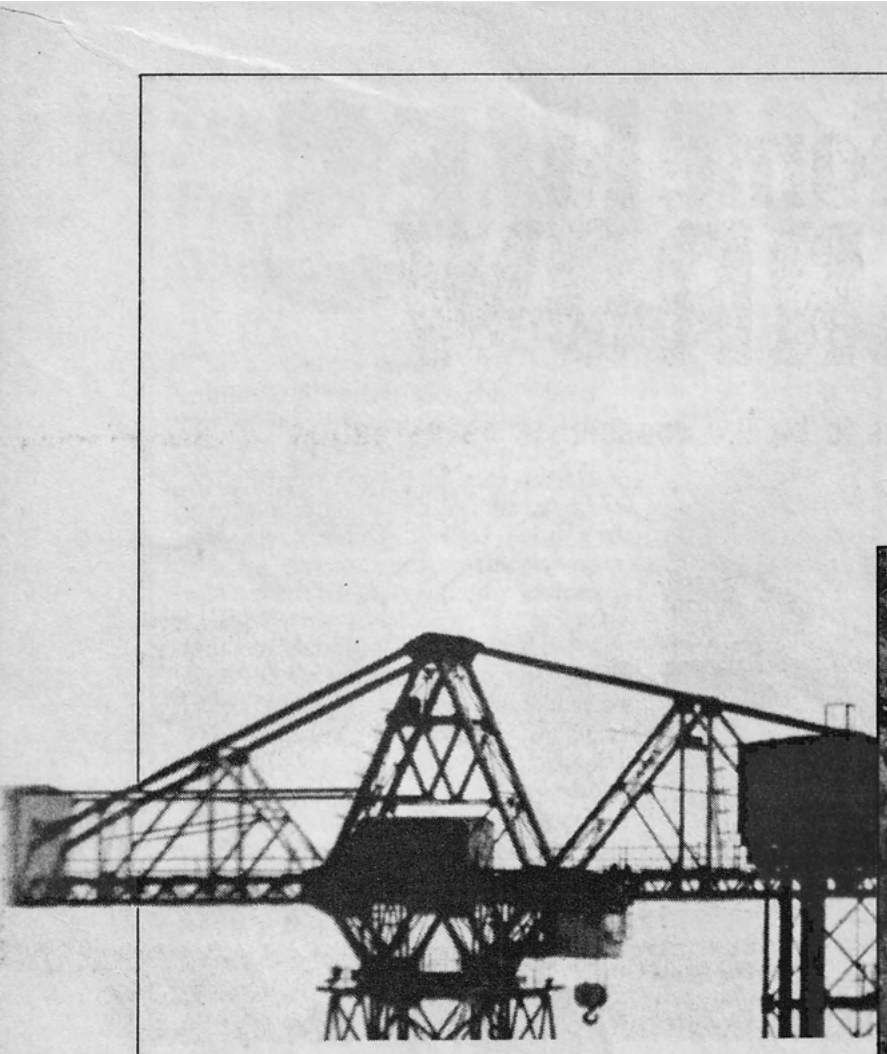
To help in that assessment one may compare this exchange with others which took place earlier.

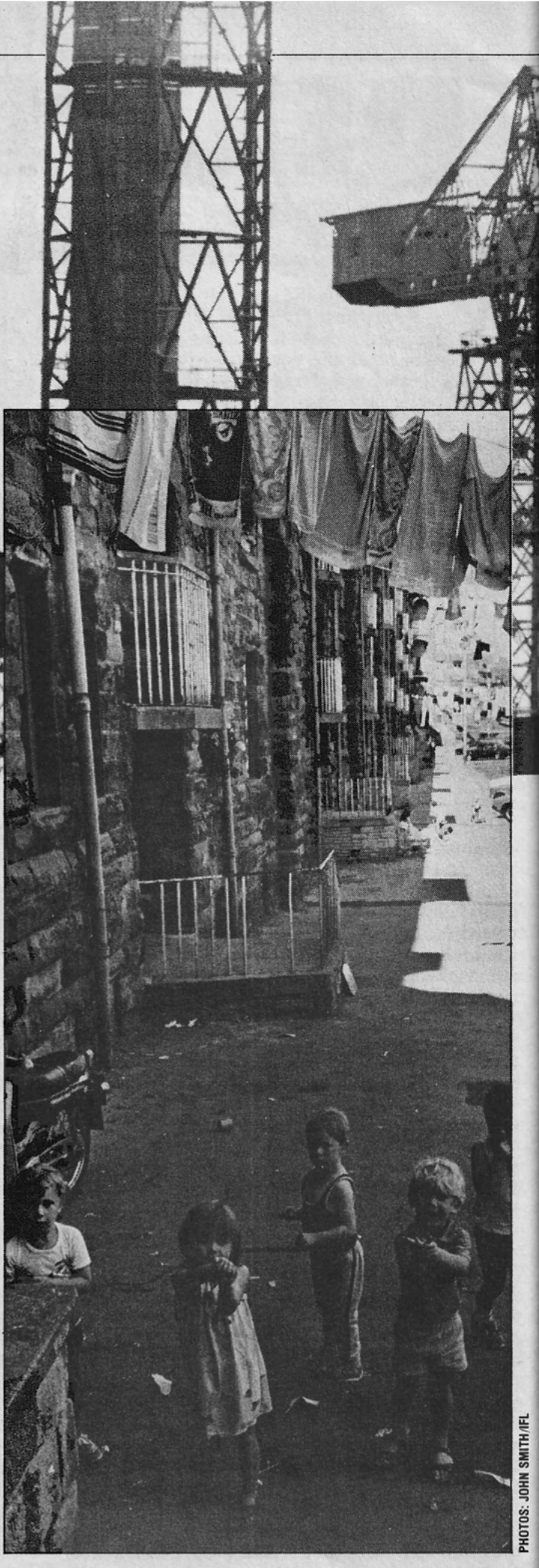
For example, soon after my arrival in the Lords, in June 1981, I asked what arrangements the Government were making for the burial of the millions of people they expected to be killed in a nuclear attack and went on to ask how many local authorities had made plans for burial and what would happen to the injured.

Lord Belsted, replying for the Government, gave no answer to these questions, and when I attempted to press him I was brayed against, which gave Lord Soames, then Lords Leader, the opportunity to say that the House clearly wanted to hear no more of these matters and we should move on. I said I would persist in these questions and there has been progress.

The backbencher who doesn't want to know gets little support these days from front or back benches, whereas I now get quite a bit. The braying is over.

In our various ways we must all persist until we are successful or until we die. There is nothing else worth doing – and we are winning.





If it floats they can build it in Barrow. A century of blood, sweat and toil has sent everything from passenger ferries to 100,000-ton tankers down the slipway into the murky waters of the Walney Channel.

Today the order books aren't so full. Managers and ministers have left shipbuilding to bleed to death. In ten years the number employed in British shipbuilding has fallen by more than half.

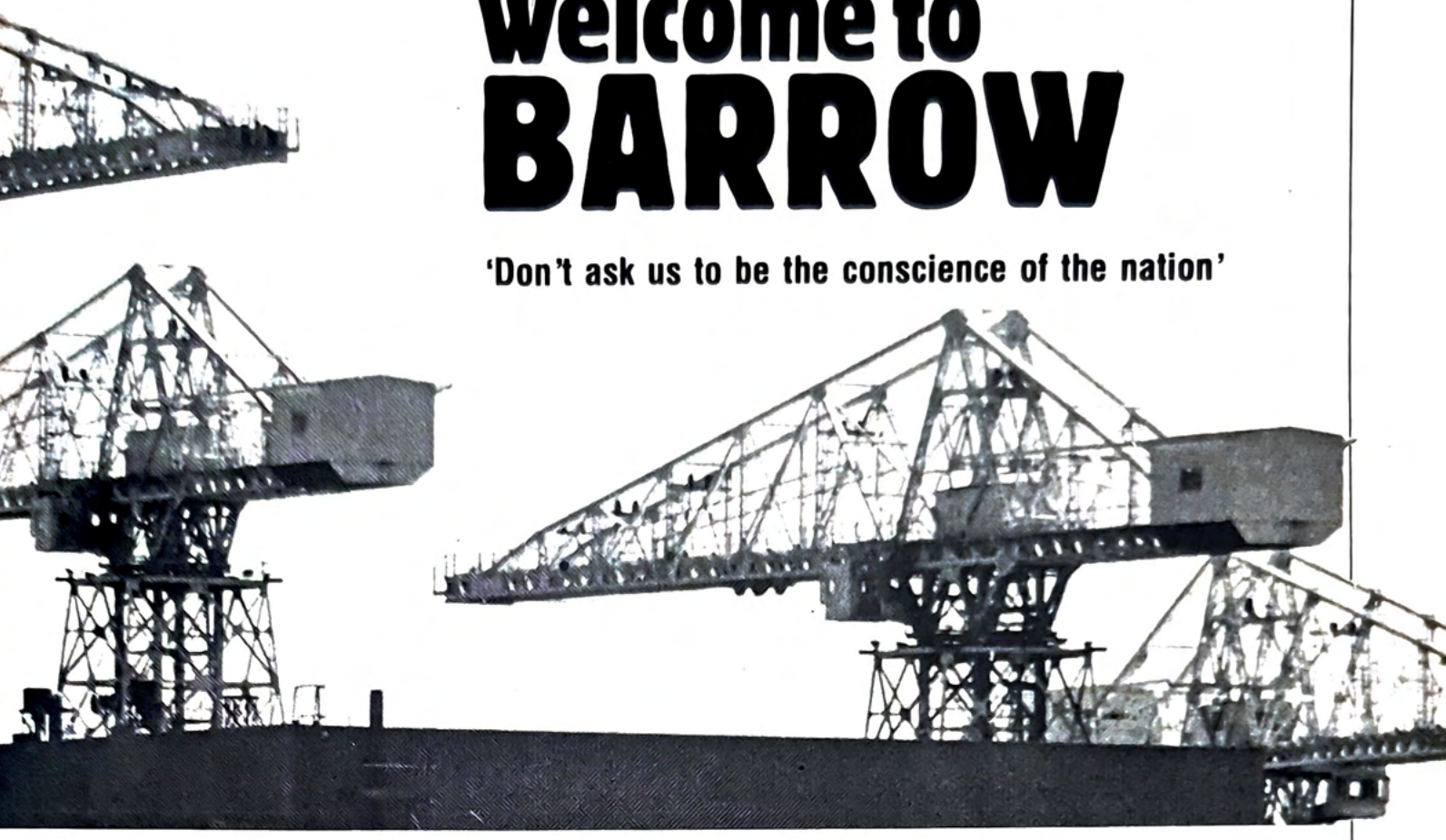
Nobody in Barrow is going to make a fortune out of Trident. But for most it will mean food on the table, shoes on the kids' feet and the mortgage company kept at bay – if only for a while.

Peter Allen **reports from Barrow. And Trade Union CND's *Alan Milburn* gathered a group of union activists to talk about the conversion of yards like Vickers, Barrow and other military factories back to more secure and useful work.**

PHOTOS: JOHN SMITH/IFL

welcome to BARROW

'Don't ask us to be the conscience of the nation'



In July 1980 Francis Pym announced the Government's decision to buy the US Trident submarine missile system to replace Polaris, which Ministers claim will be obsolete by the mid-1990s. The four huge Trident submarines – each nearly the size of an aircraft carrier – are due to be built at the Vickers shipyard in Barrow-in-Furness from 1986 onwards.

Trident is an awesomely powerful first-strike weapon. Its independently targetable warheads (which Polaris lacks) and greater speed, range, and accuracy mean a major escalation of Britain's nuclear strike capacity. How can the people of Barrow be willing to build such an horrific weapon?

If, for most of us, Trident is an important moral issue, in Barrow the issue is jobs. The Vickers Shipbuilding and Engineering Ltd works employs 12,300 people – almost half of the town's working population. Of these, around 8,000 work in the shipyard and the rest in engineering. The huge complex dominates the area.

Quite simply, Barrow is a company town. In the words of one local man: 'Barrow is a pit village, but with us it's a shipyard. Take that away and the town is finished, there's nothing else here.'

CND's national demonstration in Barrow on October 27th will highlight the issue of Trident. But people there will not be won over unless the jobs question is understood. According to a Vickers worker, 'CND are presented to us as preaching piously about weapons which would only affect people if there was a nuclear war, but which will affect us tomorrow if Trident is cancelled.'

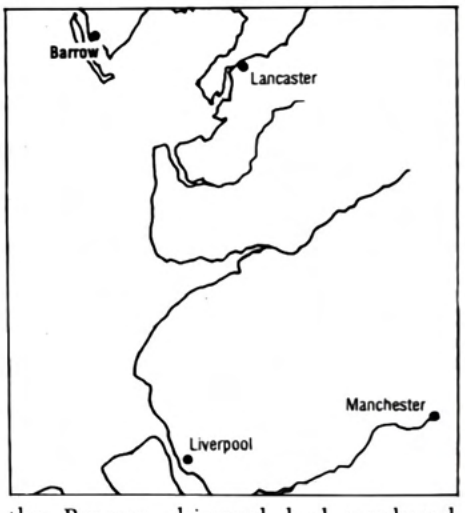
Ted Smith, leader of the Conservative group on Barrow District Council, thinks that 'Trident is just another submarine to the bulk of Vickers workers. There's no great moral issue, people see it as just another job.'

But Terry Waiting, an AUEW shop steward in the engineering works, disagrees. 'Vickers workers are not without consciences. Some of them are troubled by Trident, but they suppress their feelings.

'If a man has a family to support and a mortgage to pay off, he will build Trident. Not because he wants to build a weapon that can kill millions, but because he has to earn a living. What else can he do? If the company says that's what you're building, that's it.'

Arguments about the Barrow of today rest on the town's long tradition of shipbuilding, which began even before the arrival of Vickers in 1896. Barrow scarcely existed before the 1850s, but grew explosively to 41,000 by 1875, after iron ore was discovered in the area.

The first warships built were the gunboats *Foxhound* and *Forward* for the Royal Navy, as early as 1877. By 1886 the yard had begun its first submarine, over 300 of which have since been launched. Not only warships were built. By the turn of the century,



PETER COLE

the Barrow shipyard had produced nearly 200 merchant ships.

But the 1896 takeover by Vickers, the arms manufacturers, meant a concentration on military orders. With the surge of production for the First World War, the yard employed a massive 31,000 people. This slumped to just 3,150 in 1922. The yard was not really busy again until the re-armament of the 1930s.

What was the shipyard like? This description by a young naval officer in 1941, at the height of production for the Second World War, gives us a good idea. 'Vickers yard at Barrow is a private city of noise and steel: a fevered fantasy in a surrealist nightmare.

'On the vast slipways the grinning near-skeletons of every type of war vessel, from 8,000-ton cruisers to pathetic rat-like submarines... And, above everything, the noise: the screams, groans, howls and agonies of labour.'

The yard was by no means restricted to naval orders. Many different types of merchant ship were built across the years. But the growth of post-war foreign competition made commercial orders hard to win. The saviour of the yard was its work for the Royal Navy.

The last merchant ship was built in the 1960s, and nuclear-powered hunter-killer submarines became Barrow's mainstay. This turn away from merchant shipbuilding fitted the Government policy of the time.

The 1966 Geddes Report on the Shipbuilding Industry recommended that naval work should be confined to specified yards, commenting 'a yard which mixes both types of work can be compared with a production line on which lorries and racing cars are intermingled.'

In 1963 Vickers won the contract to build two of Britain's Polaris submarines. And in the last fifteen years, hunter-killers, Type-42 guided missile destroyers (including *Sheffield*, lost in the Falklands war), and the aircraft carrier *Invincible*, have all been launched from Barrow. The town's livelihood is closely linked with the needs of the Royal Navy.

Over the years a love-hate relationship developed between Barrow and Vickers, with many people resenting the company's power over them. This power was not always responsibly exercised.

The company had been known to discourage other businesses from moving to Barrow by buying up land or pressurising the Council to put them off. There was a less unwelcome side to Vickers paternalism though. Widows of Vickers workers were given jobs, local businesses received orders which could have been more cheaply placed elsewhere, and even the local Football Club was financially supported.

Nevertheless, there was strong support within the town when the shipyard was nationalised in 1977 and incorporated into British Shipbuilders. (It is amusing to recall that this debate drove Michael Heseltine to grab the Mace and swing it at the Government benches. Blows were exchanged on the floor of the House, and Labour MPs sang 'The Red Flag'.)

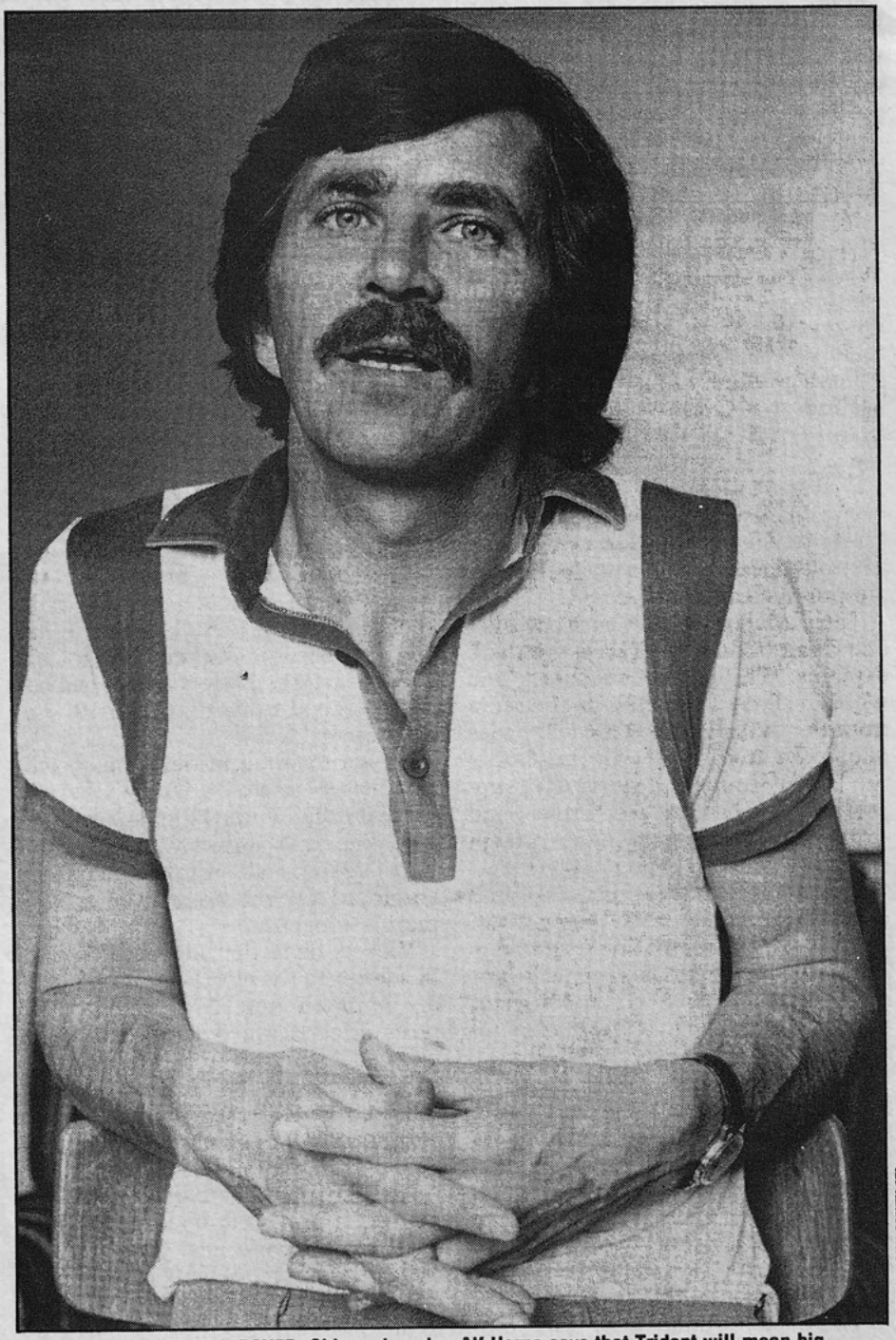


PHOTO: JOHN SMITH/IFL

TRIDENT – THE JOB DESTROYER: Shipyard worker Alf Horne says that Trident will mean big changes in the Vickers workforce. Technicians will replace craftsmen, throwing still more onto the scrapheap.

The main reason why Barrow is still a company town in the 1980s is its geographical isolation. It is at the very end of the Furness peninsula which projects into Morecambe Bay, at the southern end of Cumbria. It must be one of the few towns in Britain that you cannot travel through to get somewhere else.

People tend to stay in Barrow, which makes the population quite stable. Whole families live close together. One man describes the town as 'A village of 62,000 people. Wherever you go in Barrow you meet someone you know.' The isolation of the place has its effect on the Barrovian character, which is independent almost to the point of insularity.

In the 1950s, when other Vickers workers in Britain were trying to set up a national Shop Stewards Combine Committee, Barrow was not interested. 'Barrow was always the stumbling block. They didn't seem to want to know about anybody else' (quoted in *The Workers Report on Vickers* by Beynon and Wainwright, Pluto Press, 1979).

According to Alf Horne, an AUEW convenor in the shipyard, 'The town's

insularity has worked for and against us, but you do find a tremendous community spirit here. Barrow is full of good working-class people with smashing traditions. It's the sort of community you don't often find these days.'

Which brings us back to the question of how such decent people can build a weapon like Trident? Vickers workers' worries about unemployment which underlie their willingness to do so, are understandable. The British shipbuilding industry is in severe decline, with its workforce falling from 157,000 in 1975 to only 62,500 in 1983.

People are more likely to be tolerant of nuclear weapons if they believe their jobs are secure because of them. But that does not mean all Barrovians are pro-nuclear weapons.

Terry McSorley, a Vickers worker and Chair of the local Trades Council, explains. 'Things aren't as black and white in Barrow as they might seem from the outside. There are all shades of opinion, from those who are simply pro-bomb, through to those who support Trident but are anti-Cruise, and serious multilateralists, right through to unilateralists.

'The phrase you hear time and time again in the yard is "We may as well build it, because if we don't, someone else will." But that's because we're not given a choice. Barrow is a conscript town rather than a willing army of nuclear submarine builders.'

Alf Horne thinks the climate of opinion has changed in recent years, largely thanks to CND. 'When Polaris was built the Labour Party were in favour, and people accepted it much more readily than they do now. I've talked to a lot of people in the yard, and the ordinary working-class bloke doesn't want to build it.

'There are some who are pro-Trident, but in my opinion seventy-five percent of the craftsmen in there don't want to work on it, they think it's wrong. They're only doing it because there's no other work.'

It would be easy but counter-productive to point the finger at Vickers workers in Barrow and accuse them of immorality. As Danny Pearson (AUEW-TASS Convenor) says, 'There is a difficulty when you talk about the moral issue. People may say you don't have to work there, but for an engineer there's nothing else here.

'And I've got two sons working in the yard. How will they be affected if I say that I won't work here because it's immoral? Will people say to them "You must be immoral too"? You challenge everybody here if you take that position.'

Vickers workers feel strongly that they should not be made scapegoats for other people's consciences. Trident may be built in Barrow, but they have no control over Vickers management decisions. As Terry McSorley says, 'You can't divorce jobs from peace. We must be anti-Trident but pro-jobs.'

In fact there are very good arguments against Barrow workers building Trident, aside from the moral issue. In the first place, the political sensitivity of the programme makes it vulnerable to sudden cancellation. The huge cost of Trident has already prompted a number of establishment voices to call for Sea-Launched Cruise Missiles instead.

Secondly, it is a very capital-intensive project, which will lose jobs rather than create them. Half the money in the whole project will be spent in the USA. And although Trident has been on Vickers' horizon for some years, the Barrow workforce has still declined from 15,000 in 1977 to its present level.

As we reported in our January edition, when work on Trident begins, work on the hunter-killer submarines will end. It is unlikely that Trident will absorb all those currently employed on the conventional submarine programme.

Vickers deny that jobs will be lost. In a letter to the *North-Western Evening Mail* on June 21st, the Vickers press officer claimed there would be 'A planned transition from hunter-killer submarines to the Trident vessels, followed by a phased re-introduction of hunter-killer construction as the Trident programme runs down.'

Alf Horne says that this misses the point that Trident will require a different kind of workforce. 'The ratio of craftsmen to technicians here now is 5:1. But the work on Trident is likely to require two technicians for every one craftsman. That means redundancies. They will have to import the highly sophisticated technical staff, and the local craftsmen will find themselves out of work.'

The engineering works has already been affected by the loss of Ministry of Defence orders. 'Because of the huge cost of Trident they're cutting back on other orders that were traditionally ours, so we're losing out on the engineering side now,' says Terry Waiting. 'It's not going to be in two or three years time, it's actually now that they're cutting back on orders such as the Sea Dart missile.'

It is not just Barrow that will lose jobs. The Trident programme will be paid for out of the naval procurement budget, so a lot of conventional naval spending will have to be cut to accommodate it.

Thousands of people have already been thrown out of work by the run-down of Portsmouth and the closure of Chatham dockyards. And in August the Government announced further redundancies at Devonport and Rosyth.

Still more job losses can be expected with the coming privatisation of the shipyard, announced by Norman Tebbit in July. The announcement came as no surprise. Although British Shipbuilders as a whole lost £232 million last year, the Vickers yard made a profit of £21.3 million. With the profitable Trident programme still to come, the Barrow yard is an attractive plum to be gobbled up.

The Vickers management have opposed privatisation in the past. Greg Mott, then head of the Trident project, said in November 1983, 'A succession of changes for political rather than business reasons such as we are prone to endure, can only bear the bitter fruit of industrial collapse.'

Mott's sacking in May of this year, to prepare the way for the private sector takeover, was bewailed by the *Sunday Times* as a major blow to Trident. Their story (July 22nd) was headlined 'Trident in jeopardy after sacking of project leader'. Two former Vickers chairmen, Sir Leonard Redshaw and Bill Richardson, have warned the Government that his dismissal may have a 'tragic impact'.

And Sir Robert Atkinson, former chairman of British Shipbuilders, had this to say: 'I regard him and his team as the international authority on nuclear submarines, and they are irreplaceable over five to ten years. I think his sacking is a supreme disaster for the Trident programme.'

Although they condemn the manner of Mott's sacking, the local Conservatives think jobs will be safe when the yard is sold off. 'I don't think the workforce have got anything to fear. After all, Vickers prospered before the yard was nationalised,' says Ted Smith.

Many Vickers workers are inclined to hope that Ted Smith is right. 'People blame nationalisation for the job losses over the years,' says Terry McSorley. 'They're prepared to believe privatisation might improve it, but they're really just grasping at straws.'

McSorley believes that Mott was sacked because he was not ruthless enough in the pursuit of profit. Danny Pearson agrees. 'It's inevitable that jobs will go. We don't know which multinational company will take over the yard, but we know their nature.

'The old Vickers would sometimes take a loss-making contract to keep a

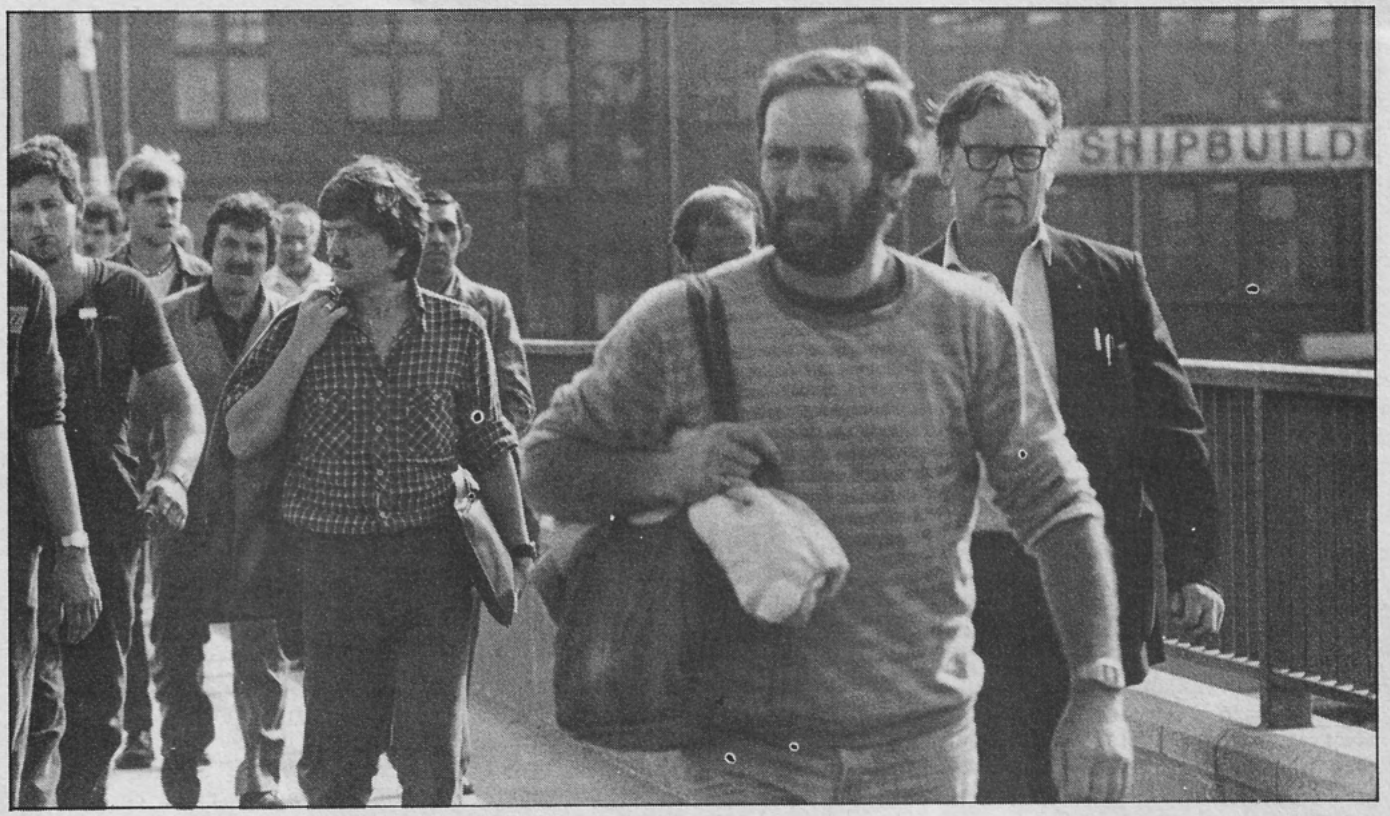


PHOTO: JOHN SMITH REPORT/IFL

Stepping out into an uncertain future. Vickers workers at the end of a shift.

squad together, not mainly out of benevolence, but to keep the squad for future contracts. A multinational won't do that. It will be based far away from Barrow, and will send in managers whose only interest will be maximising profits.'

Whatever effect Mott's sacking and privatisation may have on Trident in the future, the programme had a powerful local effect during the 1983 General Election.

'The election last year was fought on one issue and one issue alone,' says Ted Smith. 'We fought on the basis that Trident was vital to the future prosperity of our area. Our slogan was "Save Trident, Save Barrow". If you go by results, the people out there must have shared our view.'

Indeed, the result was quite stunning. A constituency which had returned a Labour MP for many years voted in a Conservative, Cecil Franks, with a 4,577 majority. It was one of the biggest swings in the country.

Was the result because of Trident, and the Labour Party's declaration that they would cancel it? Terry McSorley's view is, 'If the only element of your campaign is "Save Trident" and you win, then that has to be a major factor. But there were others, such as the boundary change which brought the town of Ulverston into the constituency.'

The SDP also had a significant effect by winning 11,000 votes. Les Gallagher, secretary of the Trades Council, thinks this was connected with Trident. 'Their candidate came out as strongly anti-Trident. But people who wouldn't vote Tory, voted SDP to save Trident because they knew they might stop Labour winning.'

'Labour's alternative wasn't stressed enough in Barrow,' says Terry McSorley. 'Unfortunately that was a factor in losing the seat – we hadn't convinced enough people there was an adequate alternative.'

Alf Horne feels that 'the Conservatives' pro-Trident campaign didn't strike a popular chord, but it worked because people were afraid of losing their jobs. The local media allowed them to get away with a scare campaign.'

Yet it now seems that Trident is not so vital for Vicker's future. The Ministry of Defence chief of defence procurement, a Mr D H Perry, told the House of Commons Public Accounts Committee in March, 'If Trident were not to go to Barrow, investment would still have taken place.'

In response to the question 'So it would be wrong for people in Barrow to say that the future of investment in Barrow is in any way dependent on the Trident programme?', he replied 'By and large, yes, that is a true statement.'

The local CND group have made great efforts to get this message across. In July, every house in Barrow was leafletted with the facts on Trident, and with an invitation to a public meeting with Bruce Kent and Olga Maitland.

Mark Chater, the local CND press officer, made the purpose of the meeting clear in a letter to the *Evening Mail*. 'We want to get Barrow on the national map as a place of significance over the issue of Trident and jobs. We also want to get the debate going among ordinary people in Barrow. Many are unhappy about Trident but depend on it at the moment for their jobs.'

500 people turned up to pack out the Civic Hall. Alf Horne was delighted. 'In Barrow it's unheard of to get 500 people out to a meeting. It just doesn't happen.' And the result was very satisfactory for CND as even Ted Smith admits.

'Of the 500 or so there, nearly all seemed to support CND,' he said. 'But the debate was very one-sided, despite the efforts CND made.' If that was the case it was hardly CND's fault. The Conservative Party and Vickers management both refused to take part, although they were invited.

The CND group's Peace Canvass, whilst admittedly at a very early stage, seems to bear out the feeling of the meeting. Barrovians are generally sympathetic to CND, particularly on the question of Cruise missiles, but still have doubts over Trident.

The local trade unions are an important channel for the arguments to deal

with these doubts. 'We have very good relations with the local trade union movement,' says Paul Kirkland, a CND member. 'We sometimes speak at Trades Council meetings, and they send speakers to our meetings at times.'

'Out of our membership of around 150, up to twenty are Vickers workers. But Trident is still a very sensitive subject. Peace camps and non-violent direct action wouldn't work here. They would just turn people off.'.

Alf Horne thinks the local CND group have done a valuable job with their work on Trident. 'I go in that yard every day, and by no stretch of the imagination is there any bad feeling against CND. But I don't think there will ever be a massive response because people are still afraid of losing their jobs.' There could also be other reasons for a lack of public enthusiasm.

'To get a job in the yard you must have security clearance. They don't tell you if you don't get it, but then you just don't get the job. If you're already in the yard when you lose clearance it can affect your chances of promotion,' says Alf Horne. Vickers will not say whether CND membership is a factor.

'You always get put on boring work because you need clearance to be allowed on the more demanding jobs. So to a certain extent people are inclined to keep their heads down.' There are pressures against speaking out.

Alf Horne was interviewed by Granada TV on whether Trident was a good thing for Barrow. 'When the interview took place there were three Vickers security men there recording every word I said. That kind of thing puts you under pressure.'

In Barrow, being out of line with the town's only major employer has obvious drawbacks. So CND must offer a positive alternative to building Trident if the hearts and minds of Barrovians are to be won.

Vickers was not always dependent upon military production. Up to the 1960s the shipyard built many merchant vessels. The engineering works not only fitted out the ships built at Barrow. It also produced machinery for cement-making, mining, and soap manufacture, amongst a variety of other orders.

But for a number of years now, even the engineering works has been solely dependent on the Ministry of Defence. According to Terry Waiting, 'The management have become lazy and aren't looking for commercial orders we could do. We've lost the pump division and the cement division. Management could argue that those markets dried up, but did they look for new ones?'

In 1976 there was an attempt to explore the possibility of conversion to peaceful production. The Vickers Shop Stewards Combine Committee – with representatives from all Vickers plants – sponsored a report by Mary Kaldor called 'Alternative Employment for Naval Shipbuilding Workers', which looked specifically at Barrow.

The report concluded that the problem was more political than technical. 'Any manner of alternative products could be made with the particular skills and talents, plant and facilities' of the Barrow yard. Sadly, the issue was lost after nationalisation, when Barrow was no longer part of the Vickers company (despite retaining the name), and lost contact with the Combine Committee.

The local Conservatives are sceptical of the possibility of peaceful production. 'Barrow has earned its living for many decades now by building warships,' says Ted Smith. 'If Trident submarines are going to be built I'm sure that people want to build them in Barrow. After all, the only profitable part of British Shipbuilders is the warship division, so where is the other work? Nobody has told us what it could be.'

The shadow of Trident hangs heavy over the Barrow community.

PHOTO: JOHN SMITH/IFL

The local Trades Council have set up a sub-committee to answer this question. 'We're now reviewing the 1976 report,' says Terry McSorley. 'We're investigating the alternatives proposed by the report to see if they're still feasible.'

But there are problems. As Alf Horne says, 'The media have always portrayed alternative production as pie in the sky, potty professors doing silly things with wave machines. But if you look at it sensibly you can see such things have potential.

'It would be a utopian dream to think you can go straight from scrapping Trident to peaceful production. There will be a need for conventional weapons, especially in the early years. But they should be phased out by degree. We need a structured plan leading from Trident to conventional weapons, and then to things of social benefit.

'People throughout the years have had no alternative to building weapons of war because their political masters said so. The people who invest their lives in the industry should have some say in what they build. Not just through the ballot-box, but through the day-to-day workings of the shipyard.'

How can CND help? According to Danny Pearson, 'What we have to do is generate a discussion. With thousands in Barrow on October 27th, the issue can't be ignored. Don't just chant slogans when you come here, get into quiet conversations with Barrovians. You have to graphically illustrate the immorality of Trident.'

And Terry McSorley adds, 'CND must argue against Trident on moral grounds. But you must also give as much support as possible to those looking for peaceful alternatives. We have to offer a practical alternative to building weapons of mass destruction.'

Jean Emery, a local Greenpeace worker, thinks that 'CND shouldn't be wet when they come here. You've got to be hard-headed. There are only two ways to stop Trident. One is by persuading the Government, which isn't possible at the moment. The other is if those guys in the yard down tools and say "We want alternative work." The only way CND can get that is by working with the unions, and coming up with some sensible ideas about what they can do.'

CND cannot afford to ignore Barrow. If the Government do decide to scrap Trident because of the cost, there could be serious unemployment in the town in the short term. If that happens, what will other arms workers say when approached by CND? They may conclude that CND equals unemployment.

That is why the challenge of Barrow is so vital.

Missiles, Money and Morals

What sort of state are the arms industries in? How much support is there for 'conversion' of these industries to more useful work? **Alan Milburn** gathered a group of trade union activists for a discussion.

Ron Bedford is chairman of the Preston management branch of the engineering union AUEW-TASS. He works at the Wharton Division of British Aerospace.

Fred Jensen is an active member of AUEW-TASS and also works at Wharton.

Jim Murray is former convenor at Vickers Elswick in Newcastle and former secretary of the Vickers Trade Union Combine Committee. He is a member of the AUEW Engineering section.

Danny Pearson, a member of AUEW-TASS, is senior negotiator and joint office chairman at Vickers Barrow.

Mick Dole works at Vickers Barrow and is vice-chair of the Barrow Trades Council. He is a member of the clerical workers' union APEX.

Terry McSorley works at Vickers Barrow, is chair of Barrow Trades Council and is also a member of APEX.

Peter Ward works at British Aerospace, Preston, and is a member of AUEW-TASS.

* * *

Sanity: What sort of state is each of your industries in?

Ron Bedford: Fred Jensen and I work in the military side of British Aerospace (BAE). About half of BAE is military. At the moment we're building Jaguars and Tornados and then, we hope, we'll go on to the next generation of military aircraft. So the industry is healthy at the moment, but the future is doubtful because there is no definite project to follow the Jaguars and Tornados. Members of my union are mostly concerned about jobs, and if that means more military aircraft then that's what its going to be.

Jim Murray: Vickers in Newcastle is in a hell of a state. It's run down from about 20,000 employees in 1946 to just 750 now. They finished me about twelve months ago.

Vickers used to make a wide range of products, but now they just make tanks for the Third World. That's the only thing left. They even have a tank outside the factory on a plinth. I always say it's there for the impulse buyer.

The thing is that the whole of the west end of Newcastle, the economy, depended on Vickers, and Vickers have quite brutally and ruthlessly run the whole place down. They've closed off a whole range of products which could have been developed. In place of manufacturing shops that once employed a thousand people, they've got warehouses which they are letting. They see their future role as landlords.

Sanity: And what about Vickers in Barrow, now, of course part of British shipbuilding?

Danny Pearson: Vickers is in two parts, the shipyard and the engine works. About ten years ago they took a decision to concentrate on submarine building and because of that they've made themselves the premier submarine yard in the country and maybe the world. They are the only yard to put in a tender for the Trident programme. We are very deeply involved with the MoD and the Navy in particular.

Terry McSorley: I think it's fair to say that in British Shipbuilders' terms, Vickers is seen as the jewel in the crown because it's a profit-making yard. With Trident, long-term orders

are there. Though it alters from individual to individual, the fear is that because Trident is a politically sensitive object it could be cancelled. If it's politically sensitive, it's vulnerable.

Mick Dole: There has been a propaganda and brain-washing exercise going on that Trident means continuous and full employment. The main fear is that if Trident is cancelled the jobs will go. It's a campaign that's been going on for a long time and in the last election it was very successful – 'vote for Trident, vote for jobs.'

Sanity: How do your members feel about working in defence? Do people feel morally opposed to their work?

Ron Bedford: No, it's work. And, as far as aerospace design is concerned it has its attractions because it is high tech. You are tested as a technician.

Danny Pearson: I agree. We could make suggestions for alternatives. At the moment in Barrow I'm looking at desalination plants for example. But desalination plants are not going to test designers. They have to have a challenge.

Terry McSorley: There's a catchphrase in Barrow, and maybe Fred and Ron have heard it where they work. It says if we don't build them somebody else will. So the moral argument quite simply doesn't come into it.

Jim Murray: Most engineers feel that it's not their job to make moral judgements on what they are making – that's for Parliament or somebody else. If you are working-class your future is largely decided for you anyway. It's not as though you have a great deal of options to choose from. You don't have any money, you've got to feed your family, and so you work.

Fred Jensen: At Wharton Division (BAE) we have some 16,000 or more employees and like Barrow is in shipbuilding, I suppose that on BAE's military side, Wharton is regarded as

'at one time Egypt was trying to buy Jaguars: we felt it was wrong to supply to areas of tension' **Peter Ward**

the jewel in the crown too. It's obviously important for the local economy.

Peter Ward: It will need a lot of changes in peoples' attitude and a lot of work on our behalf. But we *have* done work and under a Labour Government we did start to make a lot of progress. At BAE we resolved that two percent of one of our wage rises should be spent on development of alternatives. From that we pushed through our union, TASS, a resolution which was passed by the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. We should keep reminding the Labour Party that two percent of all defence expenditure ought to be allocated to alternatives. We have done other things. At one time Egypt was trying to buy Jaguars from us and we put a lot of pressure on because we felt that it was wrong to supply weapons to areas of tension like that.

The Indians also wanted to buy the Jaguar from us and we needed it for work. Eventually we found out, quite rightly in a way, that the Labour Government had instructed the Treasury that it would be far better if India bought something from us that would

'you become a sort of conscript into the nuclear arms race' **Danny Pearson**

improve its GNP, like a steel works or a textile mill. We went to see the Labour Party and said 'yes, great, we will go along with that, but if the Indians insist that they are going to buy aeroplanes and we keep pushing them back and eventually they go and buy them off somebody else we will be bloody jumping annoyed.' We have to defend our members' jobs.

As far as workers are concerned we have workers leaving to go into jobs in loads of civil industries. Anywhere where they can get better jobs and better prospects then they'll go, so there's not that kind of great dramatic devotion to working in armaments.

Danny Pearson: We don't have philosophical discussions about the effects of nuclear weapons in Barrow. People don't readily recognise that the world has changed anyway; they say that they are still doing their patriotic duty in producing the type of thing that is necessary for the defence of the country. But since I got involved in the discussion about alternatives I've started to look more and more at myself and the position that I'm in, and quite frankly I'm coming more and more to the idea that it is immoral. Bruce Kent, when he came to Barrow, put it to us that nuclear weapons are immoral because they don't select the combatants in a war. That had a profound effect on me. In the coming months and years I will have to have a closer examination of my own particular position, and that's not easy because it's not just a question of myself. As we know, Barrow, is a one-off town – it's got Vickers and only Vickers and if you want to work as an engineer you work in Vickers. You get tied up and become a sort of economic conscript into the nuclear arms race. These people are in a sense hoping that the arms race keeps on so that they can get a bit of overtime, and it's starting to get to me a bit.

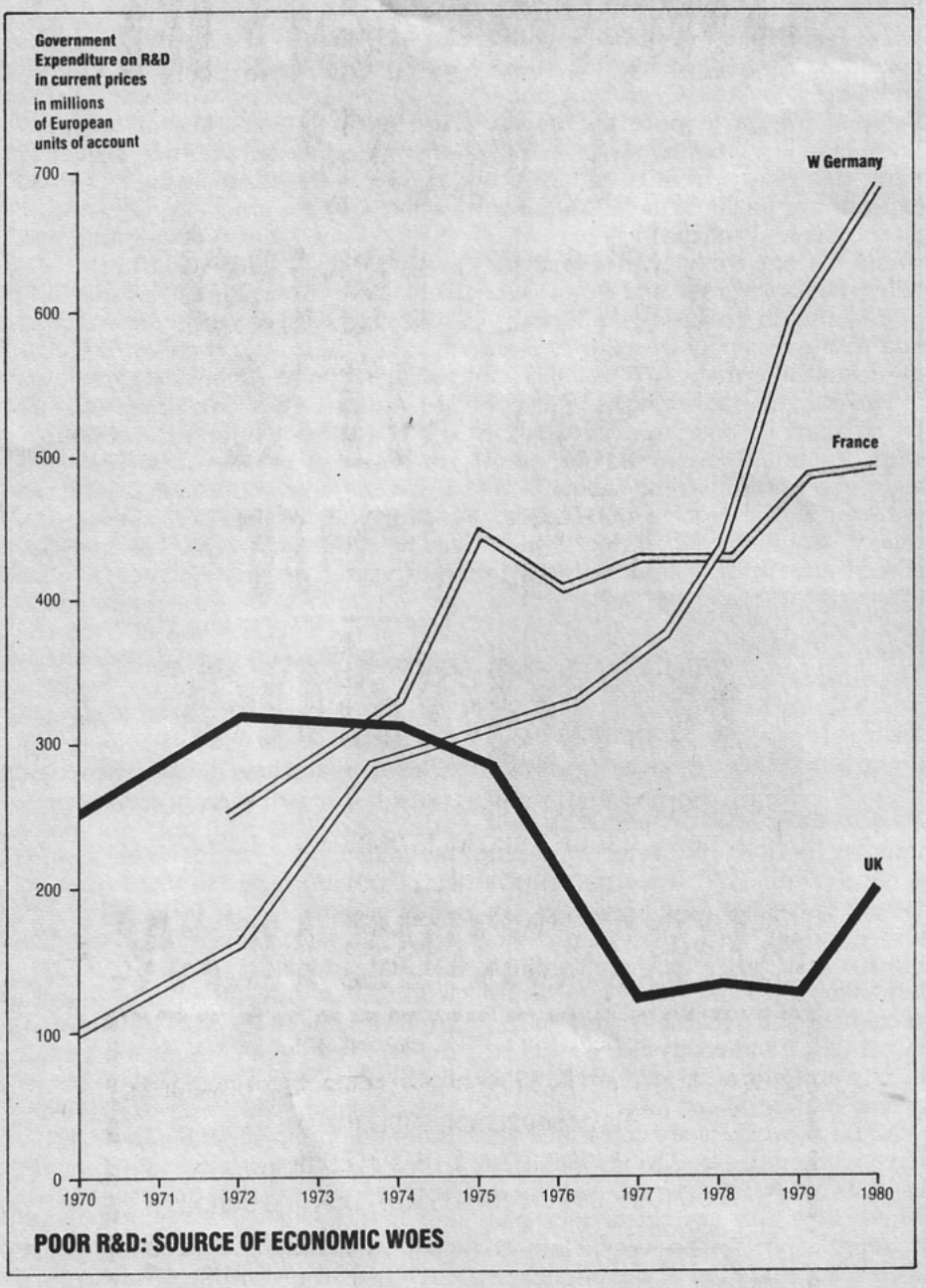
Mick Dole: The submarines that Vickers build have blood, sweat and tears put into them, and there's a hell of a feeling of pride when one goes down the slipway. They don't care whether it's a nuclear bomber, hunter-killer, conventional or what it is. They still have that same pride. I don't think the majority of workers in Vickers are in favour of nuclear weapons but they are very broadly multilateralists. They are not prepared to be the moral conscience of the country, and if that's the work that they are offered, then that's the work that they'll do.

Terry McSorley: We are in an invidious position often in Barrow, if you believe in nuclear disarmament and work in the shipyard, because people ask 'what the hell are you doing building nuclear-armed submarines?' and the only answer to that is that if I didn't work in the shipyard then I wouldn't have the right that I do have to comment on the industry. Because I work in that industry, because I have a commitment to it, years of work and my family have a commitment, their livelihoods depend on it, I have a greater right than anybody else to say what should go on in that industry.

We thought nationalisation might bring us that say, but unfortunately it did nothing of the kind. The same people that were in control of Vickers' shipbuilding in Barrow before nationalisation are still in control of it and will still be in control of it when we're privatised again.

Fred Jensen: I think it's a misplaced idea to isolate the worker in the armaments industry. Every citizen in the country is in the arms industry, every tax-payer is in the arms industry because he or she pays for it. So is everybody who produces an electrical wire that can be used in an atom bomb or a kidney machine. We're all in the armaments business. It's wrong for us to feel especially guilty – it's a collective guilt, if it be guilt at all.

The one area where defence workers agree is that, for instance, the next project in aerospace, the European fighter aircraft, our people should make it. The Government shouldn't buy it from the United States. Now that's not only just a question of work, it's also a question in the minds of some of having some kind of autonomy



POOR R&D: SOURCE OF ECONOMIC WOES

and control over our own national defence and not abdicating it to the Americans.

Jim Murray: It must be the superior intelligence of the Geordie, because we used to have discussions about this issue, and the old fitters would say,

'I've always argued that armament workers shouldn't sell their jobs for somebody else's principles' **Jim Murray**

'Was it wrong for me to build tanks to fight Hitler and Fascism?' I used to say you're not building tanks to fight Hitler and Fascism. You are building tanks which are depriving the people of Iran of the right to have electrical generators, to have printing presses to print books and to have clean water systems. So these discussions would go on. But I've always argued that armament workers shouldn't sell their jobs for somebody else's principles because it is a collective responsibility that we're building arms. Certainly I would never blame the people I was working with and say that you're responsible for the fact that we have an arms trade in this country. Of course they are not. We've seen at Lucas the great explosion of creativity when they are given the chance to do other things. But if they've got to do that kind of drudgery, which is also exploiting workers of other countries, to make a living to keep their families, they'll do it of course. The great motivation for alternative plans was unemployment.

Sanity: Is there hostility to CND and the peace movement from defence workers because of the fear for jobs?

Terry McSorley: I think CND are the new bogey-men as far as Vickers' Barrow workers are concerned. It used to be nationalisation and since we were nationalised and found out that it wasn't the horror that it was made out, now CND are the bogey-men. It's CND who are after the jobs of the people who could be fully employed building Trident and there is a none-too-subtle campaign against CND aimed directly at workers in defence industries. Remember when you talk about Barrow and communities like Barrow, when you attack a major employer in an area, you are also attacking all the services in the area.

Ron Bedford: The attitude to CND is secondary at BAE because we're not in the front line of the nuclear question. There is, though, a direct implication which I think CND should think

'conversion depends on having a defence policy massively different from this government's' **Ron Bedford**

about. CND's policy is to get out of NATO. Now I think that's a point at BAE which could and does concern people because there is an immediate implication for the military aircraft industry.

Danny Pearson: I think if CND came into Barrow with positive arguments talking about alternative employment and things like that, then they are not going to get the rejection that a minority of people in Barrow would like to see. It would be lovely if we were all building dialysis machines or something like that . . .

Jim Murray: But that's what the world needs, isn't it? We found in Iran when we visited in 1979 that what they needed was clean water and our engineering skills could have been adapted to give them that, but we were giving them Chieftain tanks, which was waste. That's what I find – my engineering skills, ingenuity and creativity are being devoted to ends which, in the end, are waste.

Sanity: What do people on the shop floor and in the design offices think about conversion from military to socially useful production?

Ron Bedford: Not at all at BAE, because the question begs another question. Conversion of the arms industry from what it's doing now depends on having a defence policy massively different from the one that this Government's got and the one that the next Labour Government will have.

Mick Dole: Whichever way you look at it there's going to be a defence strategy. I get the feeling from people I talk to in Barrow that they would like Vickers *not* to convert but to stay in armaments, nuclear or conventional, and preferably corner the market in it,

'the way to fill the shortfall in jobs between defence orders is conversion' Fred Jensen

because it is steady, contracted work that is there year after year.

Fred Jensen: I feel it's imperative that we start in a serious and determined way to discuss conversion. But, in order to motivate a greater number of members to discuss it, we have to help them to see the shortfall in jobs between defence orders, and the way to fill those hollows is conversion. It does very much matter, some see it as a prerequisite, for conversion to take place on a significant scale, that we have a Labour Government and a new type of nationalised industry where we have real control and industrial democracy.

Terry McSorley: I agree with Fred but I don't believe we should wait until we've got a Labour goverment. We've got to distinguish between alternative employment and conversion especially in Barrow. There are alternatives to Trident which can be advocated but those projects can only be stop-gaps for developing proper conversion, and I would use the argument that conversion itself leads to real job security.

Danny Pearson: On the question of shopfloor perceptions, it's early days yet, but in Barrow we have a Trades Council Alternative Employment Sub-Committee set up that has its roots back within the factory and is acknowledged by the two main committees there – the Manual Workers Joint Committee and the Joint Staff Committee. It's important that it relates back to the workshop. I'm an optimist and I think that mighty oaks from acorns grow. People know that there is a discussion going on about conversion and we can harness that.

Ron Bedford: Conversion in this context has a negative ring to it. It seems to imply forced conversion, as though somebody from the outside is going to convert you and your lot into something else. And it has behind it the pacifist, moralist argument, the righteous people forcing you horrible arms workers to convert. Conversion has a religious flavour to it, even. I would

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rather use the word diversification. It has implicit in it diversification from within by the workers and the people within the industry who wish to diversify, not to be converted.

Fred Jensen: I agree. As soon as the word 'conversion' is used it's interpreted as beating *all* the swords into ploughshares. The idea of conversion is immediately interpreted as a pacifist argument.

Terry McSorley: In Barrow we are really on the frontline, because conversion of the *nuclear* arms industry is different. CND and the Trade Union movement dare not ignore our position on the front line because if Trident is cancelled then Barrow will be held up as a shining example of how damaging CND and all their views can be to people who used to be employed in the nuclear arms industry. We don't need alternative employment *after* the Labour government have determined a policy of unilateralism, we need it the day that they declare it.

Jim Murray: I think we need to relate this to the people's experience and say 'look, do you need a Trident submarine?' They might need a new car and you might need a kidney machine, but do you need a Trident submarine or a military aircraft? And if we need these why is it that we need them?

Terry McSorley: Well in Barrow the present answer to that is to put bread on the table.

Jim Murray: But don't these engineers feel that there's a world out there, there's people dying and suffering from lack of food and water, don't they want to use their engineering skills to do that?

Terry McSorley: Sure they want to do that but not after two years of unemployment while somebody thinks up a project for them to do. They want it tomorrow.

Jim Murray: That's something else. With all these things that we're doing that are necessary, we've still got four and a half million on the dole. The system's ridiculous. People must respond by saying 'well, yes, there must be something better than this, having my sons and daughters condemned to a life on the dole and also I'm making things which are going to destroy people.'

Terry McSorley: That's why it's important that the initiatives come from within the workplace because they are the economic conscripts and they are the ones that know what their skills, facilities and manpower are capable of.

Peter Ward: A Labour government with the right kind of leadership, with the kind of policies that we should now be developing and pushing, and the kind of nationalisation that gives us some kind of control, is absolutely essential. Because once you've got that kind of driving force behind conversion, and the workers can see it moving, then we will carry them with us. All that we can do now is to prepare the ground, design leaflets about alternatives to arms, aimed at our people and involving people like us.

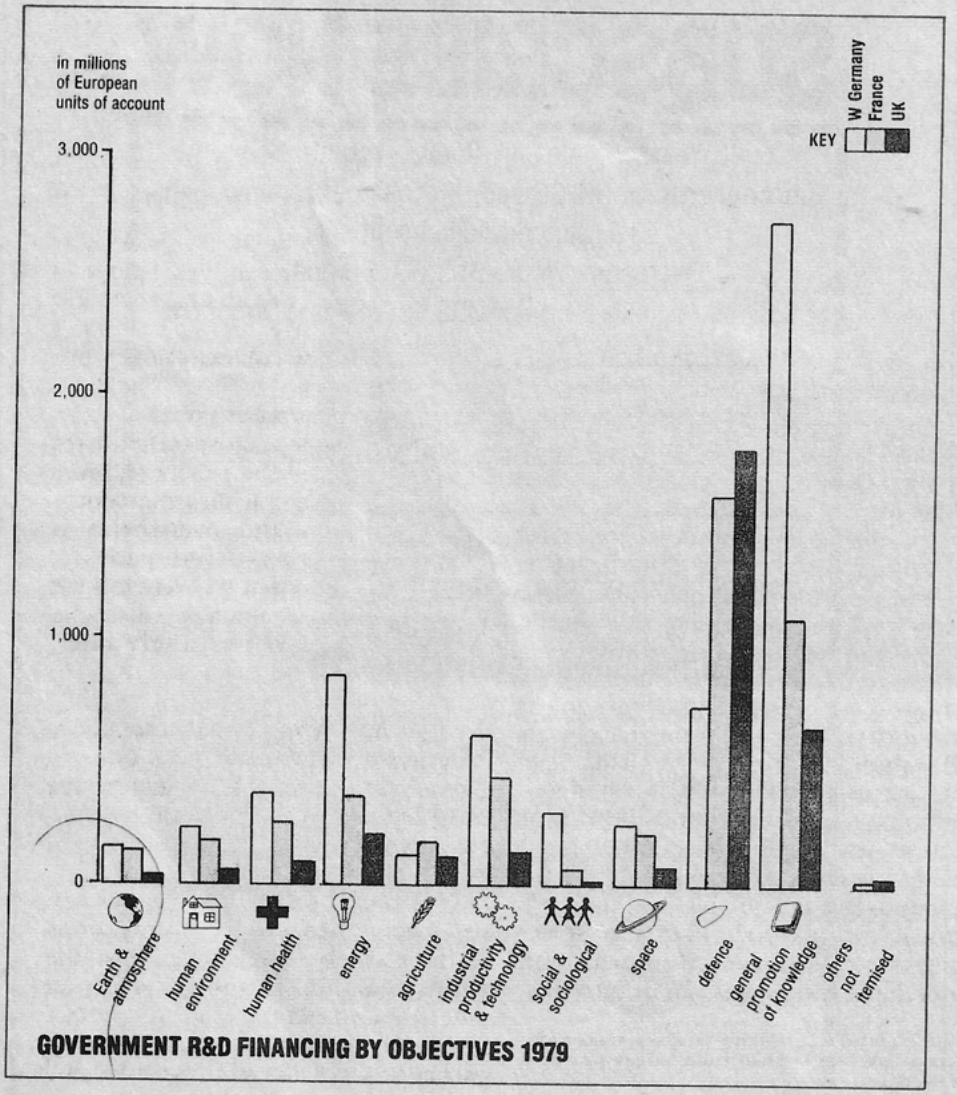
'there are real alternatives that offer long-term employment to our membership' **Terry McSorley**

Sanity: A number of unions have produced short pamphlets about arms conversion aimed at their members. But is conversion practical? What could actually be made in your workplaces instead of arms?

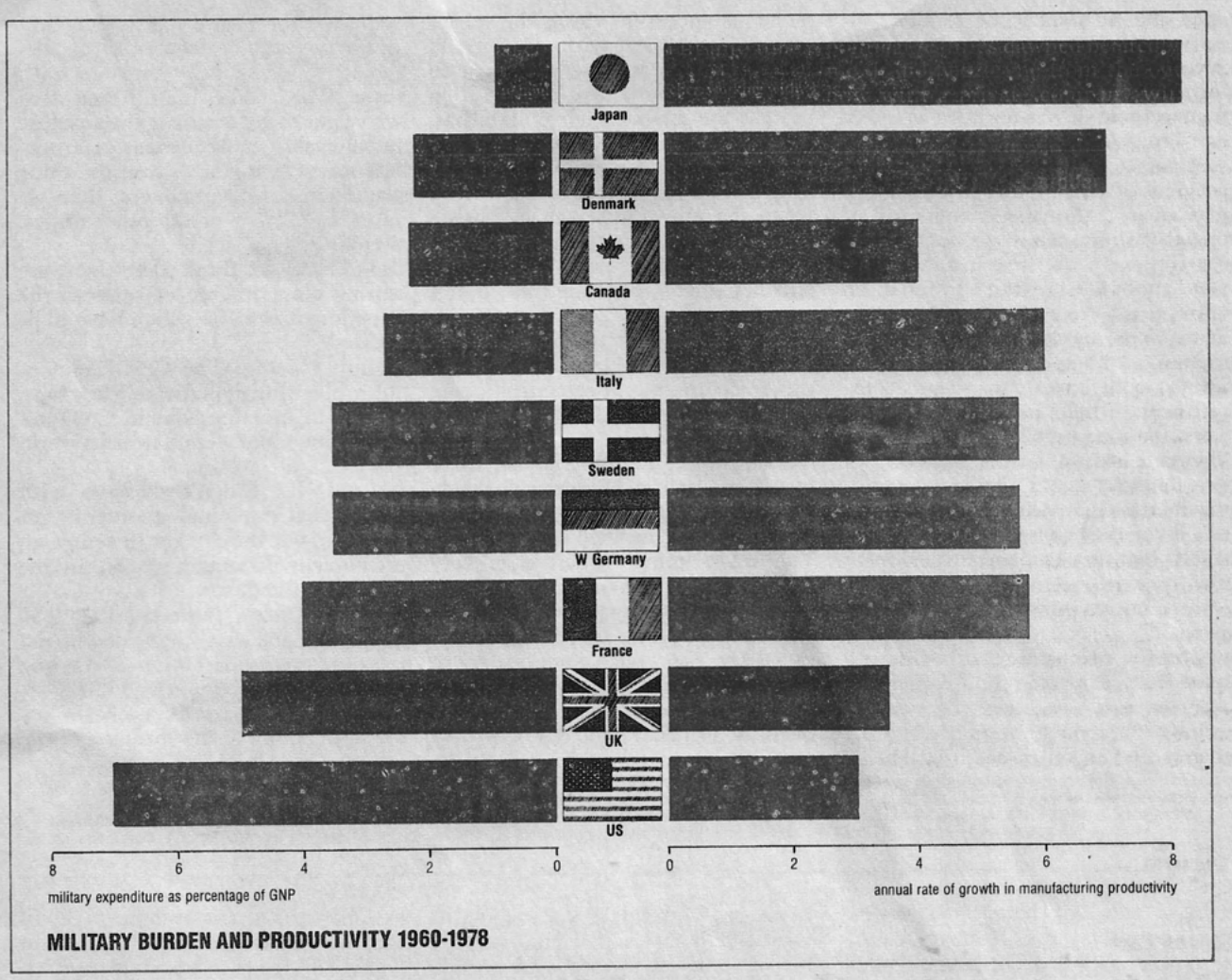
Peter Ward: Increasingly in the Labour Party we are talking about selective import controls to defend and help rebuild our decimated manufacturing industry. If we looked at the whole range of sophisticated machinery that is being brought into this country because we no longer have the capacity to make it, a whole range of products could be listed. That would give us enough manufacturing to carry on for a long time to come.

Mick Dole: We should be looking at the exploitation of engineering technology rather than let the entrepreneur exploit them for his own use. Deep-sea mining vessels, for example. In Barrow we've got deep sea experience with the submarines and we should be saying to the workforce that is something that nobody has built yet but we've got the capability to do it.

Terry McSorley: There are real alternatives that offer real long-term employment to our membership. Projects such as the wave-power development that encompasses high-tech skills that are required presently in shipbuilding. Projects like thermo-ocean gradients, again high-tech, again a world market for them. Or desalination plants. The Israelis have got won-



GOVERNMENT R&D FINANCING BY OBJECTIVES 1979



MILITARY BURDEN AND PRODUCTIVITY 1960-1978

derful desalination programmes going but they cannot develop them because they haven't got the skills and they haven't got the money to invest in them.

Ron Bedford: Two things are required – inventiveness and investment. We've got the inventiveness. Where is the investment coming from? It's got to be from the government.

Jim Murray: It has to be. It's all there in the Barrow proposals produced by the Vickers Combine Committee – deep-sea mining, deep-sea farming. Things that can enhance our lives.

> 'one reason why Japan is so far ahead is their R&D and the little they spend on arms' Mick Dole

Danny Pearson: In Barrow we can't be specific yet. But we can point in the direction we can go and develop that. It's particularly helpful that CND are prepared to provide Barrow with a researcher to help develop some of the ideas that have already been put up.*

Mick Dole: What we really need is funds for proper research and development. One reason why Japan is so far ahead is their R&D and the little they spend on arms.

Sanity: What kind of help would you expect a sympathetic government to give and just how viable do you think conversion is without that political support?

Danny Pearson: We have to prepare the case now. Don't have all your eggs in one basket – that's been quite a good catchword in Barrow.

Jim Murray: We'll get nowhere with the present government. The best chance rested with the last Labour government's industrial policy which, of course, was never implemented, especially planning agreements. If we are going to live in a proper economy, it's got to be planned. Planning agreements between the government and individual companies can fit into this.

***CND plans to fund a full-time researcher, working with Barrow trade unionists, who will investigate conversion of the Vickers yard.**

Mick Dole: We need to show that there are viable alternatives. People in the arms industry in the last election were quite rightly alarmed. I don't think there was a coherent policy put over by anybody.

Fred Jensen: Enormous political damage was done in the aerospace industry when the TV and the papers reported the phrase unilateral disarmament – vote Tory was the overwhelming resolution of workers in aerospace. If it had been insisted that we were talking about unilateral *nuclear* disarmament, it would have been a very different story.

Sanity: But what about the Lucas experience which took place under a Labour government? What lessons are to be learned from the Lucas alternative plan?

Fred Jensen: I started out and remain in some measure a tremendous admirer of the Lucas Plan. But the political realities dawned belatedly on me. It did puzzle me from the outset how with a private company with a particular set of motives, objectives and

aims that seemed to be totally contrary to the Plan, how that could ever succeed, because it was a challenge ideologically and intellectually to management. It was regarded as a very dangerous initiative if it was allowed to continue. I thought it an unhappy accident of history that it didn't happen in a nationalised industry. If initiatives are really to succeed in the future, in the first instance they would have to be within a nationalised enterprise.

Terry McSorley: A future Labour government, I hope, would be different. They would have a manifesto commitment to help and encourage projects like the Lucas Plan. I look at the Plan as a beacon, an inspiration.

Ron Bedford: Lucas workers were living in Lucas Industries which was, and is, a diversified company. They were a small plant that happened to deal specifically with aerospace who then wanted not to be in aerospace and to move into areas which already existed within the company. That's different from BAE who only build missiles, aeroplanes and so on, so an entirely different aprpoach is needed. Still, there's a lot to be learned from Lucas.

Peter Ward: I regard Lucas as a tremendous success. I think the media took it up and ran with it, which is very important because we've got to get the message across, and nothing has got the message across like that. For a time it saved jobs because management were faced with a dilemma – they couldn't very well sack workers when the union was waiting with a whole list of alternative products.

One criticism. It's easy to criticise, but they forgot about the trade union structure and went ahead off their own bat, and that left them constantly trying to pick up the pieces and drag the trade union movement kicking and screaming behind them. It's a lesson for us.

Jim Murray: The point is that there were basic political differences inside TASS which stopped the Lucas Plan from being put forward by the union. The trade union structure is very deficient. It's still adapted to the nineteenth-century entrepreneur when we're living in the multinational age. The structure must change and in addition to the present structure it should be based on the combine committees. That's the only effective working-class weapon in a multinational age.

Sanity: What role do you see for CND in the conversion debate?

Peter Ward: The main thing that we've got to get across is the absolute unbelievable consequences of a nuclear war. Once you've won the thing about nuclear disarmament, then we can start to look at the other things. Step by step.

Jim Murray: I think that there are serious class differences between the shopfloor and CND which have to be tackled.

Danny Pearson: The CND input to the whole thing is crucial. They have to put the moral argument. CND has to become more related to arms workers.

Mike Dole: I don't disagree with Danny that the moral argument's got to go on, but they've got to campaign on *nuclear* disarmament within the armaments industry.

Terry McSorley: Differences can be overcome, and that's indicated by the existence of Trade Union CND. The trade union movement and CND are vitally supportive of each other. They are both acting in the interests of the working people of this country.

Steven Lock

Welcome to the world's nuclear dustbin

Twenty miles up the coast from Barrow-in-Furness lies an imposing mass of buildings together known as Windscale. Or rather *Sellafield*, since its name was changed for PR reasons in 1981. Everyone has probably heard of Windscale, 'the nuclear dustbin', but few know what goes on there or how it fits into the nuclear chain.

Britain decided to develop a nuclear capability during the war, and work began on a uranium enrichment plant at Capenhurst, a uranium metal fuel fabrication plant at Springfields, and two atomic piles (reactors) and a reprocessing plant at Windscale, then just an old ordnance factory.

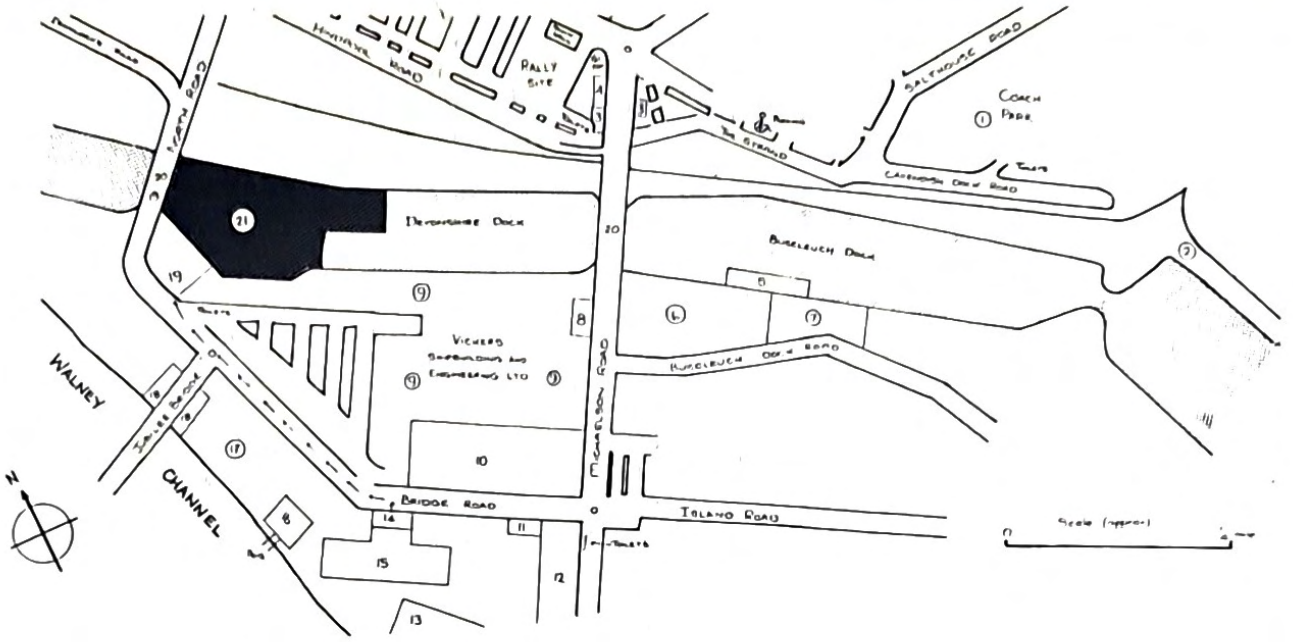
The first Windscale pile began operating in October 1950, the second in June 1951. The first plutonium was extracted by the Windscale reprocessing plant in February 1952, and sent directly to Aldermaston in August to make Britain's first atomic bomb. That bomb was tested at Monte Bello, Australia, on October 3rd.

Today there is supposed to be a distinction between civil and military nuclear power, but historically their development has been closely linked; even the choice of reactors has depended on military needs.

In 1954 the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority (UKAEA) was set up as a semi-autonomous, non-departmental body under ministerial control. Its job was to run the growing nuclear industry, about nine-tenths of which was devoted to military needs.

In 1957 there was a major accident and fire in Windscale's no. 1 reactor, which resulted in its closure. No. 2 reactor also closed when modifications required to make it safe proved too costly. Meanwhile, Calder Hall had been opened in October 1956, on a site adjacent to Windscale. Hailed as 'the world's first nuclear power station', its role in producing plutonium for military use was kept quiet. 1971 saw an attempt to obscure the links between civil and military nuclear power. British Nuclear Fuels Limited was set up as a supplier of fuel for the nuclear industries, whilst the UKAEA was given responsibility for research. In 1973 the UKAEA's Weapons Group passed to the Ministry of Defence. Windscale passed into the hands of BNFL.

There is only one building on the Windscale site with no definitely identifiable military function or potential. That is the UKAEA's Advanced Gas-cooled Reactor. It was closed in 1981. The original reprocessing plant B204 was closed after an accident in 1973, to be replaced by B205 which is used to extract plutonium from spent reactor fuel. There is also a plutonium fuel fabrication plant, B277. The 1977 Windscale Enquiry revealed evidence suggesting that an annexe to the old reprocessing plant B204 is used to recover 'aged plutonium residues', that is, to reprocess and maintain nuclear warheads, which are subject to plutonium decay-products which



(1) Coach Park: from here you can see the Fisher Docks. (2) B.N.F.L. (Fisher) Docks: where the 'Fishers' ships dock bringing in nuclear waste from light water reactors, to be transported by train to Sellafield. The waste comes from West Germany, Spain, Switzerland, Holland, Sweden, and Japan, and is responsible for Sellafield being called the world's 'nuclear dustbin. (3) Fischer Offices. (4)Vickers Shipbuilding and Engineering Limited Administration Offices. (5) Floating Dock, Fitting out of hunter-killer submarines after launching from the slipways (13). (6) Main Machine Shop: Engineering parts for submarines, FH70 field guns and naval guns. (7) MoD Offices. (8) Main Engineering Gate. (9) Main Engineering Assembly: for naval guns and FH70 field guns from (6). (10) Foundry: Boilershop. (11) Main Gate. (12) Offices including drawing offices. (13) Slipways: Hunter-killer submarines are assembled here before being launched into Walney Channel and taken to floating dock (5) to be fitted out. (14) Yellow Doors: these have been specifically built to accommodate the size of Trident sections. Arrows indicate route of Trident sections to Trident complex entrance (19). Two transporters, costing £2 million each have been specifically purchased from Germany. (15) Assembly Shed: Construction of submarine sections to include Trident. (16) SMITE (Submarine Machinery Installation and Test Establishment) (Recognisable by two adjacent towers): Engines, including nuclear powered engines are tested and inspected here. (16a) Water outlet into channel – could this be radioactive? (17) Includes Steel preparation shed, Pipe production shop, Machine shop and Plating shop. Parts for Trident at present being constructed and tested. (18) Apprentice training schools. (19) Entrances to Trident complex. (20) Bridges on either side of the Trident dock where CND activists will take part in a die-in at 2pm on October 27th. (21) Trident Complex: Trident sections transported from (15) will be assembled here.

build up and render a weapon less predictable. Windscale is also a centre for reprocessing the spent fuel from the PWR-powered Polaris submarines, and will probably do the same service for Trident.

The most important fact is that all plutonium for British nuclear warheads has at some time or other passed through Windscale.

There is also evidence suggesting plutonium from Windscale has been used to fuel the nuclear build-up in the United States. Under an agreement signed in 1958, but renewed since then, Britain and the US have an 'Agreement . . . for cooperation on the uses of atomic energy for mutual defence purposes'. Under this agreement Britain has swopped plutonium for enriched uranium and tritium, both of which are needed for Polaris submarines and nuclear weapons. The authorities claim that only 'civil' plutonium is exchanged to be used to fuel America's civil nuclear programme. But even if this is the case, more American plutonium is released to make weapons, so either directly or indirectly the export of plutonium is aiding the US arms build-up.

Windscale has the capability to reprocess both civil and military irradiated fuels at the same time, although they claim to keep them separate, and it is a fact that official figures show that between three and four tonnes of plutonium have gone missing since the start of Britain's atomic programme. In 1981, Windscale's name was changed to Sellafield in a vain attempt to improve the plant's public image.

THE FACT that Windscale will produce plutonium for Trident warheads provides an obvious link between Barrow and Windscale. But this is not the only connection Barrow has with the nuclear industry. The town provides the nearest dock to Sellafield. Look over the other side of the bridge which faces the Trident Dock and you will find the 'Fishers'. Ships bearing a lethal cargo of oxide waste from light water reactors dock there. Waste from West Germany, Spain, Switzerland, Holland, Sweden and Japan is then transported by train to Sellafield, the world's 'nuclear dustbin'. The name is apt because as yet the waste cannot be reprocessed, and so it just lies in storage.

The siting of the waste dock in Barrow has frightening ecological implications. It is next to a gas terminal, and the Health and Safety Directorate of the UKAEA have, themselves, designated the area a 'high fire-risk zone', with seventeen possible interactions being identified as capable of starting a fire.

The independent Political Ecology Resources Group estimate that if there was a fire for nine hours (not an impossibility given the location of the gas terminal), then a nuclear waste flask would break open contaminating a 50km radius, causing tens of thousands of cancer deaths. The land would be contaminated for decades, and there could be no fishing in the Irish Sea for at least twenty years.

Clearly we can't ignore the dock during our anti-Trident action in Barrow. And that's why, during the 'Let's Talk About Trident' week, Greenpeace are planning various actions to illustrate the links between Barrow, Trident and Sellafield. On October 27th people will be able to see for themselves the vulnerability of the 'Fishers' dock, situated as it is right next to the coach park, facing the bridge which will be the scene of a 'die-in', which will graphically illustrate the dangers of both Trident and nuclear power.

As UKAEA Chairman Sir John Hill has said, 'In the final analysis there is no such thing as the civil atom or the military atom.'

How J B stirred the nuclear sleepwalkers

The writer J B Priestley died on August 14th, 1984. He was 89.

By way of tribute, *Sanity* reprints his November 1957 article *Britain and the Nuclear Bombs* with a short introduction by Michael Foot MP.

***Britain and the Nuclear Bombs* gave a considerable boost to the already swelling anti-nuclear feeling in Britain. Response to the article was so great that a number of leading literary, academic, religious and political figures decided to launch a new mass movement against Britain's bomb. Launched just three months after publication of Priestley's article, the movement was to be called the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. J B Priestley served as its first vice-president.**

J B Priestley was truly one of the creators of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The article which he wrote for the *New Statesman* gave the original impetus to the Campaign – and it is good that *Sanity* has republished it now.

Priestley had a special insight and capacity for capturing the mood of the British people, and his CND article performed that service for us then, just as his *Postscripts* during the war had represented the mood of the nation more subtly and intuitively than anybody else could do.

Priestley, of course, was there at the original meeting in Amen Court, home of Canon Collins, where some of us assembled, headed by Bertrand Russell and Kingsley Martin, editor of the *New Statesman,* who had printed the article.

The case they presented so brilliantly then is even stronger now.

Michael Foot

Two events of this autumn should compel us to reconsider the question of Britain and the nuclear bombs. The first of these events was Mr Aneurin Bevan's speech at the Labour Party conference, which seemed to many of us to slam a door in our faces.* It was not dishonest but it was very much a party conference speech, and its use of terms like 'unilateral' and 'polarisation' lent it a suggestion of the 'Foreign Office spokesman'. Delegates asked not to confuse 'an emotional spasm' and 'statesmanship' might have retorted that the statemanship of the last ten years has produced little else but emotional spasms. And though it is true, as Mr Bevan argued, that independent action by this country, to ban nuclear bombs, would involve our foreign minister in many difficulties, most of us would rather have a bewildered and overworked Foreign Office than a country about to be turned into a radio-active cemetery. Getting out of the water may be difficult but it is better than drowning.

The second event was the successful launching of the Soviet satellite, followed by the immediate outbreak of what may fairly be called *satellitis,* producing a rise in temperature and signs of delirium. In the poker game, where Britain still sits, nervously fingering a few remaining chips, like a Treasury official playing with two drunk oil millionaires, the stakes have been doubled again. Disarmament talks must now take place in an atmosphere properly belonging to boys' papers and science fiction, though already charged with far more hysterical competitiveness. If statesmanship is to see us through, it will have to break the familiar and dubious pattern of the last few years. Perhaps what we need now, before it is too late, is not statesmanship but lifemanship.

One 'ultimate weapon', the final deterrent, succeeds another. After the bombs, the inter-continental rockets; and after the rockets, according to the First Lord of the Admiralty, the guided-missile submarine, which will 'carry a guided missile with a nuclear warhead and appear off the coasts of any country in the world with a capability of penetrating to the centre of any continent'. The prospect now is not of countries without navies but of navies without countries. And we have arrived at an insane regress of ultimate weapons that are not ultimate.

But all this is to the good; and we cannot have too much of it, we are told, because no men in their right minds would let loose such powers of destruction. Here is the realistic view. Any criticism of it is presumed to be based on wild idealism. But surely it is the wildest idealism, at the furthest remove from a sober realism, to assume that men will always behave reasonably and in line with their best interests? Yet this is precisely what we are asked to believe, and to stake our all on it.

For that matter, why should it be assumed that the men who create and control such monstrous devices *are* in their right minds? They live in an unhealthy mental climate, an atmosphere dangerous to sanity. They are responsible to no large body of ordinary sensible men and women, who pay for these weapons without ever having ordered them, who have never been asked anywhere yet if they wanted them. When and where have these preparations for nuclear warfare ever been put to the test of public opinion? We cannot even follow the example of the young man in the limerick and ask *Who does what and with which and to whom?* The whole proceedings take place in the stifling secrecy of an expensive lunatic asylum. And as one ultimate weapon after another is added to the pile, the mental

*Priestley refers to Aneurin Bevan's opposition to a motion proposing unilateral nuclear disarmament put before the 1957 Labour Party conference. Bevan's speech caused outrage amongst his leftist admirers and supporters.

CHRIS DUGGAN

climate deteriorates, the atmosphere thickens, and the tension is such that soon something may snap.

The more elaborately involved and hair-triggered the machinery of destruction, the more likely it is that this machinery will be set in motion, if only by accident. Three glasses too many of vodka or bourbon-on-the-rocks, and the wrong button may be pushed. Combine this stock-piling of nuclear weapons with a crazy competitiveness, boastful confidence in public and a mounting fear in private, and what was unthinkable a few years ago now at the best only seems unlikely and very soon may seem inevitable. Then western impatience cries 'Let's get the damned thing over!' and eastern fatalism mutters 'If this has to be, then we must accept it.' And people in general are now in a worse position every year, further away from intervention; they have less and less freedom of action; they are deafened and blinded by propaganda and giant headlines; they are robbed of decision by fear or apathy.

It is possible, as some thinkers hold, that our civilisation is bent on self-destruction, hurriedly planning its own doomsday. This may explain, better than any wearisome recital of plot and counter-plot in terms of world power, the curious and sinister air of somnambulism there is about our major international affairs, the steady drift from bad to worse, the speeches that begin to sound meaningless, the conferences that achieve nothing, all the persons of great consequence who somehow seem like puppets. We have all known people in whom was sown the fatal seed of self-destruction, people who would sit with us making sensible plans and then go off and quietly bring them to nothing, never really looking for anything but death. Our industrial civilisation, behaving in a similar fashion, may be under the same kind of spell, hell-bent on murdering itself. But it is possible that the spell can be broken. If it can, then it will only be by an immensely decisive gesture, a clear act of will. Instead of endless bargaining for a little of this in exchange for a little of that, while all the time the bargainers are being hurried down a road that gets steeper and narrower, somebody will have to say 'I'm through with all this.'

In plain words: now that Britain has told the world she has the H-bomb she should announce as early as possible that she has done with it, that she proposes to reject, in all circumstances, nuclear warfare. This is not pacifism. There is no suggestion here of abandoning the immediate defence of this island. Indeed, it might well be considerably strengthened, reducing the threat of actual invasion, which is the root fear in people's minds, a fear often artfully manipulated for purposes far removed from any defence of hearth and home. (This is of course the exact opposite of the views expressed at the Tory conference by Mr Sandys, who appears to believe that bigger and bigger bombs and rockets in more and more places, if necessary, thousands of miles away, will bring us peace and prosperity.) No, what should be abandoned is the idea of deterrence-by-threat-of-retaliation. There is no real security in it, no decency in it, no faith, hope, nor charity in it.

But let us take a look at our present policy entirely on its own low level. There is no standing still, no stalemate, in this idiot game; one 'ultimate weapon' succeeds another. To stay in the race at all, except in an ignominious position, we risk bankruptcy, the disappearance of the Welfare State, a standard of living that might begin to make Communist propaganda sound more attractive than it does at present. We could in fact be so busy, inspired by the indefatigable Mr Sandys, defending ourselves against Communism somewhere else, a long way off, that we could wake up one morning to hear it knocking on the back door. Indeed, this is Moscow's old *heads-I-win-tails-you-lose* policy.

Here we might do well to consider western world strategy, first grandiloquently proclaimed by Sir Winston in those speeches he made in America just after the war. The Soviet Union was to be held in leash by nuclear power. We had the bomb and they hadn't. The race would be on but the West had a flying start. But Russia was not without physicists, and some German scientists and highly trained technicians had disappeared somewhere in eastern Europe. For the immediate defence of West Germany, the atom bomb threat no doubt served its turn. But was this really sound long-term strategy? It created the

unhealthy climate, the poisonous atmosphere of our present time. It set the Russians galloping in the nuclear race. It freed them from the immense logistic problems that must be solved if large armies are to be moved everywhere, and from some very tricky problems of morale that would soon appear once the Red Army was a long way from home. It encouraged the support of so-called peoples' and nationalistic and anti-colonial wars, not big enough to be settled by nuclear weapons. In spite of America's ring of advanced air bases, the race had only to be run a little longer to offer Russia at least an equally good set-up, and, in comparison with Britain alone, clearly an enormously better set-up.

We are like a man in a poker game who never dares cry 'I'll see you.' The Soviet Union came through the last war because it had vast spaces and a large enough population and a ruthless disregard of losses, human and material. It still has them. Matched against this overcrowded island with its intricate urban organisation, at the last dreadful pinch – and party dictators made to feel unsure of their power can pinch quicker than most democratic leaders – the other side possesses all the advantages. If there is one country that should never have gambled in this game, it is Britain. Once the table stakes were being raised, the chips piling up, we were out. And though we may have been fooling ourselves, we have not been fooling anybody else.

This answers any gobbling cries about losing our national prestige. We have none, in terms of power. (The world has still respect and admiration for our culture, and we are busy reducing that respect and admiration by starving it. The cost of a few bombs might have made all the difference.) We ended the war high in the world's regard. We could have taken over its moral leadership, spoken and acted for what remained of its conscience; but we chose to act otherwise – with obvious and melancholy consequences both abroad, where in power politics we cut a shabby figure, and at home, where we shrug it all away or go to the theatre to applaud the latest jeers and sneers at Britannia. It has been said we cannot send our ministers naked to the conference table. But the sight of a naked minister might bring to the conference some sense of our human situation. What we do is something much worse: we send them there half-dressed, half-smart, half-tough, half-apologetic, figures inviting contempt. That is why we are so happy and excited when we can send abroad a good-looking young woman in a pretty new dress to represent us, playing the only card we feel can take a trick – the Queen.

It is argued, as it was most vehemently by Mr Bevan at Brighton, that if we walked out of the nuclear arms race then the world would be 'polarised' between America and the Soviet Union, without any hope of mediation between the two fixed and bristling camps. 'Just consider for a moment,' he cried, 'all the little nations running, one here and one there, one running to Russia, the other the US, all once more clustering under the castle wall . . .' But surely this is one of those 'realistic' arguments that are not based on reality. The idea of the Third Force was rejected by the very party Mr Bevan was addressing. The world was polarised when, without a single protest from all the noisy guardians of our national pride, parts of East Anglia ceased to be under our control and became an American air base. We cannot at one and the same time be both an independent power, bargaining on equal terms, and a minor ally or satellite. If there are little nations that do not run for shelter to the walls of the White House or the Kremlin because they are happy to accept Britain as their nuclear umbrella, we hear very little about them. If it is a question of brute power, this argument is unreal.

It is not entirely stupid, however, because something more than brute power is involved. There is nothing unreal in the idea of a third nation, especially one like ours, old and experienced in world affairs, possessing great political traditions, to which other and smaller nations could look while the two new giants mutter and glare at each other. But it all depends what the nation is doing. If it is still in the nuclear gamble, without being able to control or put an end to the game, then that nation is useless to others, is frittering away its historical prestige, and the polarisation, which Mr Bevan sees as the worst result of our rejection of nuclear warfare, is already an accomplished fact. And if it is, then we must ask ourselves what we can do to break this polarity, what course of action on our part might have some hope of changing the world situation. To continue doing what we are doing will not change it. Even during the few weeks since Mr Bevan made his speech the world is becoming more rigidly and dangerously polarised than ever, just because the Russians have sent a metal football circling the globe. What then can Britain do to de-polarise the world?

The only move left that can mean anything is to go into reverse, decisively rejecting nuclear warfare. This gives the world something quite different from the polarised powers: there is now a country that can make H-bombs but decides against them. Had Britain taken this decision some years ago the world would be a safer and saner place than it is today. But it is still not too late. And such a move will have to be 'unilateral'; doomsday may arrive before the nuclear powers reach any agreement; and it is only a decisive 'unilateral' move that can achieve the moral force it needs to be effective.

It will be a hard decision to take because all habit is against it. Many persons of consequence and their entourages of experts would have to think fresh thoughts. They would have to risk losing friends and not influencing people. For example, so far as they involve nuclear warfare, our commitments to NATO, SEATO and the rest, and our obligations to the Commonwealth, would have to be sharply adjusted. Anywhere from Brussels to Brisbane, reproaches would be hurled, backs would be turned. But what else have these countries to suggest, what way out, what hope for man? And if, to save our souls and this planet, we are willing to remain here and take certain risks, why should we falter because we might have complaints from Rhodesia and reproaches from Christchurch, N.Z.? And it might not be a bad idea if the NATO peoples armed themselves to defend themselves, taking their rifles to the ranges at the week-end, like the Swiss.

American official and service opinion would be dead against us, naturally. The unsinkable (but expendable) aircraft carrier would have gone. Certain Soviet bases allotted to British nuclear attack would have to be included among the targets of the American Strategic Air Command. And so on and so forth. But though service chiefs and their staffs go on examining and marking the maps and planning the logistics, having no alternative but resignation, they are as fantastic and unreal in their way as their political and diplomatic colleagues are in theirs. What is fantastic and unreal is their assumption that they are traditionally occupied with their professional duties, attending in advance to the next war, Number Three in the world series. But what will happen – and one wrong report by a sleepy observer might start if off – will not be anything recognisable as a war, an affair of victories and defeats, something that one side can win or that you can call off when you have had enough. It will be universal catastrophe and apocalypse, the crack of

PHOTO: HENRY GRANT

Priestley exchanges words with Bertrand Russell at the February 1958 launch of CND.

doom into which Communism, western democracy, their way of life and our way of life, may disappear for ever. And it is not hard to believe that this is what some of our contemporaries really desire, that behind their photogenic smiles and cheerful patter nothing exists but the death wish.

We live in the thought of this prospect as if we existed in a permanent smog. All sensible men and women – and this excludes most of those who are in the *V.I.P.-Highest-Priority-Top-Secret-Top-People Class*, men now so conditioned by this atmosphere of power politics, intrigue, secrecy, insane invention, that they are more than half-barmy – have no illusions about what is happening to us, and know that those responsible have made two bad miscalculations. First, they have prostituted so much science in their preparations for war that they have completely changed the character of what they are doing, without any equivalent change in the policies of and relations between states. Foreign affairs, still conducted as if the mobilisation of a few divisions might settle something, are now backed with push-button arrangements to let loose earthquakes and pestilences and pronounce the death sentences of continents. This leaves us all in a worse dilemma than the sorcerer's apprentice. The second miscalculation assumed that if the odds were only multiplied fast enough, your side would break through because the other side would break down. And because this has not happened, a third illusion is being welcomed, namely, that now, with everything piling up, poker chips flung on the table by the handful, the tension obviously increasing, now at last we are arriving at an acknowledged drawn game, a not-too-stalemate, a cosy old balance of power. This could well be the last of our illusions.

The risk of our rejecting nuclear warfare, totally and in all circumstances, is quite clear, all too easy to understand. We lose such bargaining power as we now possess. We have no deterrent to a nuclear threat. We deliberately exchange 'security' for insecurity. (And the fact that some such exchange is recommended by the major religions, in their earlier and non-establishment phases, need not detain us here.) But the risk is clear and the arguments against running it quite irrefutable, only if we refuse, as from the first too many of us here have refused, to take anything but short-term conventional views, only if we will not follow any thought to its conclusion. Our 'hard-headed realism' is neither hard-headed nor realistic just because it insists on our behaving in a new world as if we were still living in an old world, the one that has been replaced.

Britain runs the greatest risk by just mumbling and muddling along, never speaking out, avoiding any decisive creative act. For a world in which our deliberate 'insecurity' would prove to be our undoing is not a world in which real security could be found. As the game gets faster, the competition keener, the unthinkable will turn into the inevitable, the weapons will take command, and the deterrents will not deter. Our bargaining power is slight; the force of our example might be great. The catastrophic antics of our time have behind them men hag-ridden by fear, which explains the neurotic irrationality of it all, the crazy disproportion between means and ends. If we openly challenge this fear, then we might break the wicked spell that all but a few uncertified lunatics desperately wish to see broken, we could begin to restore the world to sanity and lift this nation from its recent ignominy to its former grandeur. Alone, we defied Hitler; and alone we can defy this nuclear madness into which the spirit of Hitler seems to have passed, to poison the world. There may be other chain-reactions besides those leading to destruction; and we might start one. The British of these times, so frequently hiding their decent, kind faces behind masks of sullen apathy or sour, cheap cynicism, often seem to be waiting for something better than party squabbles and appeals to their narrowest self-interest, something great and noble in its intention that would make them feel good again. And this might well be a declaration to the world that after a certain date one power able to engage in nuclear warfare will reject the evil thing for ever.

BOOKS, BADGES AND STICKERS

CND

BOOKS Atoms for War; Beyond the Cold War 60p; Civil Defence 40/80p; Chemical Warfare 80p, Facts against the bomb (v. good) 75p; Four minutes to Midnight £1.10; Guide to Arms Race 25p; Let's Face the Red Menace 40p; Questions & Answers about Nuclear Weapons (v. good) 40p; Arms Drain 50p; Neutron Bomb 35p; Disarmament Manual £1.50; Peace Poems 20p; Song book 60p; The CND Story £1.95; N/Disarmament Starts Here 40p; Original Protest & Survive 45p; Defence of Britain - E.P. Thompson (v.g.) 50p; CND Information Packs (v.g.) 50p; Trump Cards (answers to awkward questions - v. g.) 50p; A Better Future (TU book on Arms Conversion) 60p; No Cruise - No SS20's 50p.

Broadsheets: Campaign Against Cruise 5p; TU's & CND 5p; The Pope's Appeal, Medical Effects of N/W N/Power, Mountbattens Speech, Christians at X Roads, Swords or Ploughshares, British Overkill, Workplace Groups, What is A Cruise? All these 10p ea.

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Posters: CND posters - six different ones - 15p each; Peace of Poverty (10) - £1.25; Mushroom Cloud 30p; Heseltine Poster 20p John Lennon (v. good) 60p.

Leaflets: Pugwash Statement 50p/100. A Nuclear Freeze £1/100; Refuse Cruise £1/100; Pre-Canvass, Trade Union, Trident, Cruise, Christian, Greenham Women (the big lie), Ecoropa - Falklands War - all these £1.50/100. Thirty Q's & A's about CND - 3p each.

Badges: For 15p - Shiny Black & White CND, Small Lapel (plastic) different colours, Ban the Bomb, Christian, Day-glo, Broken Missile, Dove of Peace, Dove with Cross, Dove with CND Symbol, Cruise - no Thanks, Euro-shima - No Thanks, Bombs Away, Malled Fist, Cruise - A dead certainty, Fight War Not Wars, GPAC (Rainbow), Jobs not Bombs, Join CND, Multi-coloured, Mushroom cloud, No Cruise - Good News, No Cruise Missiles, N/Power - No Thanks, Protest & Survive, I love Life, Wo Cares Wines, American Freeze, YCND, Weapon of Peace, Stand Together, Support Peace Camps, N/Missiles - No Thanks, CND-Nuclear Reactors, Practice Peace, Nuclear Free Now, Remember Hiroshima, Think Peace, The nearest safe nuclear reactor is 93 million miles away, Wars will cease when men refuse to fight, Work not Warheads, Peace not Perishing, Caring not Destroying, Cruise of a Lifetime. *For 20p:* N/Free Europe, Bomb Disposal, Large CND, End the Arms Race, Everyone loses the A/Race, Europe demands a Future, Give Peace A Chance (Rainbow), I love life, I want to grow up not blow up (Teddy Bear), jobs not Bombs, Lemmings Chose Cruise, Let there be a World, No Cruise, No more Hiroshimas, N/Free Zone, N/Power No Thanks, N/War No Thanks (Poppy), N/Weapons - Final Lunacy, Protest & Survive (Broken Missile), P&S (Red & White), Stop Sizewell, Stop Trident, Support the Peace Camps, Together we can stop the Bomb, Women against the Bomb, SDP, SNP, Socialists, Tories, T/Unionists Against the Bomb, Make Peace Not War, Trident the deadly White Elephant. *For 25p:* Real Ale Drinkers, Ageing Hippies (men or women), Guardian Readers, Teachers, Batman, Special Branch, Morris Dancers (men & women), Musicians, Cyclists, Bird Watchers, Postal Workers, Train Spotters, Cat Lovers, Dog Lovers, Tel. Engineers Against the Bomb, American Freeze, CND Pearlised, CND Prismatic, CND Luminous, Square Rainbow, Support the Peace Camps Brooch. *For 30p:* Bones not Bombs (Dog Tag). *For 50p:* CND Guitar Badge (metal). *For 60p:* CND Chrome.

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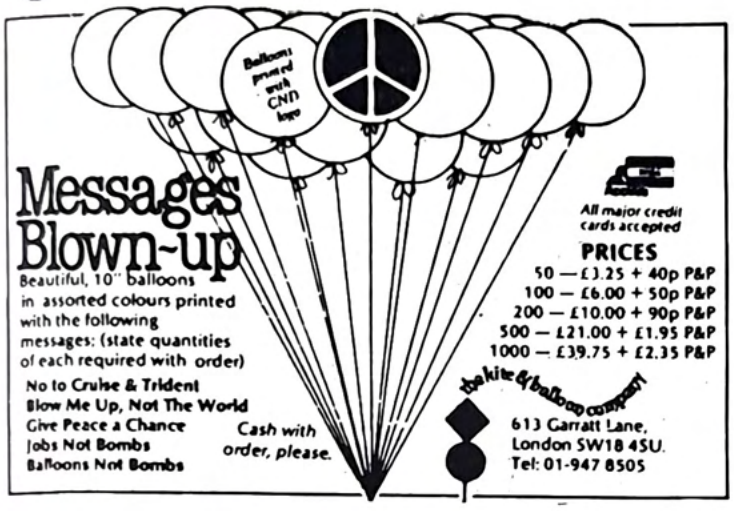

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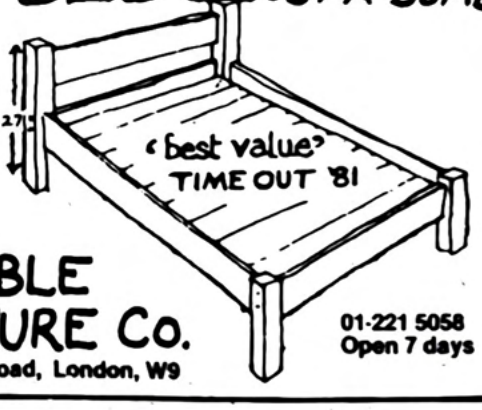

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Reviews Extra

The Uses of Authority

Truman and Stalin: tactful and polite.

Jeff McMahan reviews: The Choice: Nuclear Weapons Versus Security

Edited by Gwyn Prins, London

Chatto & Windus: The Hogarth Press, 1984, 272pp., £12.95. £5.95 paper.

One depressing feature of the public debate about nuclear weapons is the readiness which people show to defer to the superior wisdom of 'authorities'. For most people, the mere, unargued assertion of an army General counts for far more than the carefully reasoned argument of some lesser mortal. Anyone who doubts the selling power of 'authority' should take a cursory glance at the letters page of *The Times*.

The tendency to treat the deliverances of the great as if they were pieces of revelation is not among the human race's more attractive characteristics. But, nevertheless, it is a fact to be reckoned with. The publication of Gwyn Prins's new book is therefore an event of considerable significance for the disarmament movement, for in it he has collected a set of broadly anti-nuclear essays written by a formidable cast of dissenting establishment figures – persons, as the cover blurb claims, of 'unique authority'. More importantly, Prins has seen to it that the assembled authorities are in general ones who actually have a good deal to say that is of independent interest and importance.

The book opens with essays by Admiral Eugene Carroll, Admiral Noel Gayler, and General A S Collins, all attacking the idea that nuclear weapons can serve as useful instruments of war (in the traditional sense). These essays are then complemented by an important piece by McGeorge Bundy which challenges the view that nuclear weapons are useful in times of peace for purposes of political coercion (other than simply the deterrence of a nuclear attack). It is this view which to a considerable extent motivates the Reagan Administration's nuclear arms buildup. The Administration's public position is that, if the Soviet Union enjoys strategic superiority over the US, so that it would stand to lose much less in a nuclear war than the US would, then the US will then be vulnerable to Soviet coercion and intimidation (or 'nuclear blackmail'). For the Russians could then be reasonably confident that the US would respond to their challenges with acquiescence rather than risk going to war at a profound disadvantage.

What the Administration does not say in public (at least not any more) is that, if strategic superiority would enable the Soviet Union to coerce and intimidate the US, then it would also enable the US to coerce and intimidate the Soviet Union. This is a capacity which the Administration desperately wants to have. It wants, for example, to be able to intervene freely throughout the world with a minimal risk of a serious confrontation with the Soviet Union. This is why it seeks strategic superiority over the Soviet Union. In the words of Reagan's START negotiator, General Edward Rowny, with superiority 'we could take certain slight risks without those becoming big risks'.

Bundy's challenge to the view that nuclear weapons can be useful as instruments of political coercion consists, not of abstract strategic reasoning, but of historical analysis. (The theoretical challenge to this view is supported by the first three essays in the collection, since the coercive power of nuclear weapons is supposed to derive from their utility as instruments of war.) He focusses on the two principal historical cases in which the coercive power of nuclear weapons is alleged to have been manifest. The first of these is the case in which Truman claimed, in retrospect, that it was his implicit nuclear threat which forced the Soviet Union out of Iran in 1946. Bundy shows that this was just a bit of epic boasting on Truman's part, and that in fact the messages that Truman sent to Stalin were uniformly tactful and polite, and contained no threats or ultimatums whatsoever. What moved the Russians to withdraw, Bundy speculates, was instead the firmness of the Iranian government and the weakness of Stalin's supporters in Iran. The second case he considers is that in which, according to Eisenhower, the threat of atomic war enabled the US to achieve the armistice in Korea in 1953. According to Bundy, the signals which the Eisenhower Administration sent were not only rather feeble, but were also sent when there was already considerable evidence that a shift had occurred in the Chinese position as a result of their perception that they had other good reasons for ending the war.

The study of these historical cases is of the utmost importance to our assessment of the threat of nuclear blackmail, and Bundy's discussion certainly advances our understanding of the problem. There are, however, places where his analysis is less satisfactory. For example, he attributes little significance to the fact that, during the 1973 Yom Kippur war, Nixon and Kissinger placed American forces throughout the world on a nuclear alert in an effort to prevent Soviet intervention in the war. He appeals to Kissinger's own 'authoritative account' in support of his claim that the alert was 'in no way . . . a specifically thermonuclear threat', and goes on to conclude that 'the Soviet *démarche* that produced [the alert] was a crude effort to change the rules in the Mideast by threat and bluster, and it deserved a firm response'. The rules in the Mideast are, of course, that this is an American domain from which the Soviet Union must be excluded, and that Israel can do whatever it wants. The Soviet Union's threat to intervene resulted from the fact that Israel had succeeded in encircling the Egyptian Third Army by violating a ceasefire which Kissinger himself had earlier negotiated in consultation with the Russians. It was only when the US had repeatedly rejected Sadat's proposal that a joint Soviet-American peace-

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keeping force be interposed between the two armies – a proposal that the Russians endorsed – that the Soviet Union threatened to intervene unilaterally. But of course any attempt to prevent the Israelis, who are notorious for their inability to honour their ceasefire commitments, from annihilating an Arab army must of necessity be a piece of 'crude' bullying which it is worth risking nuclear war to avert.

There are several other papers in the book which deserve mention – in particular the contribution by George Kennan, which is an eloquent and inspired plea for a more rational and decent attitude towards the Soviet Union by Western officials and Western populations generally. This essay alone is worth the cost of the book. It is so eminently sensible and persuasive that it is difficult to resist the thought that, if only it were sufficiently widely read, we would already be half way towards solving the problem of the arms race.

The papers by Robert Neild and Malcolm Chalmers which discuss alternatives to current Western defence policies are also excellent. Neild argues for the obviously sound but almost universally ignored principle that military strategy and forces should be fashioned with an attention to the inferences which potential adversaries will draw about your political and military intentions. He goes on to make sensible suggestions about how NATO's forces could be redesigned to reassure the Russians about Western intentions, while remaining militarily effective. Chalmers argues convincingly that changes along the lines recommended by Neild would fit with an overall *decrease* in defence spending in Europe, given the savings that could be achieved by cancelling certain dangerous nuclear weapons programmes, phasing out European interventionary or 'out-of-area' forces, and replacing over-sophisticated conventional weapons with weapons based on simpler (and more reliable) technologies.

In spite of the presence of essays on non-nuclear defence, the title of the book is misleading, since most of the contributors are known to support a policy of nuclear deterrence by the US (though not the present policy), and several go out of their way to dissociate themselves from any suggestion of the desirability of unilateral nuclear disarmament. John Griffiths gets closest to such an argument. His essay carefully argues the case that the use and even the possession of nuclear weapons is illegal under current international law.

Chaplain (Major General) K K Johnson argues in an essay on the morality of nuclear deterrence that deterrence is immoral – indeed, *absolutely* so. But, like the American Catholic bishops whose position he rightly criticises, he shrinks from embracing unilateralism: 'Let a case be made for the necessary forms of deterrence posture . . ., but let it be made in purely pragmatic terms; and let no one claim that even such a changed policy has moral virtue.' I suspect that what he means here by 'pragmatic' considerations are simply moral considerations of a sort which he does not want to dignify with the label 'moral' (for example, the consideration that deterrence would allegedly have better consequences than unilateral nuclear disarmament). In that case he is implicitly giving up his claim that deterrence is morally impermissible. There are two other options. One, which he appears to accept, is to claim that even the most pressing demands of morality may be set aside for reasons of expedience. This, however, comes close to being a rejection of morality. Certainly it fails to take morality sufficiently seriously. The other alternative is to embrace unilateral nuclear disarmament. It would have been nice to find a general in the American Army willing to defend that position.

There are seven other papers – by John Polanyi, Michael McGwire, Raymond Garthoff, David Holloway, W B Gallie, John Kenneth Galbraith, and Noel Gaylor – which I have failed to discuss, but all are well worth reading. The book as a whole certainly deserves the attention which the stature of the contributors ensures that it will receive.

● **Jeff McMahan is a research Fellow in Philosophy at St. John's College, Cambridge, and the author of British Nuclear Weapons: For and Against (1981) and Reagan and the World: Imperial Policy in the New Cold War (1984).**

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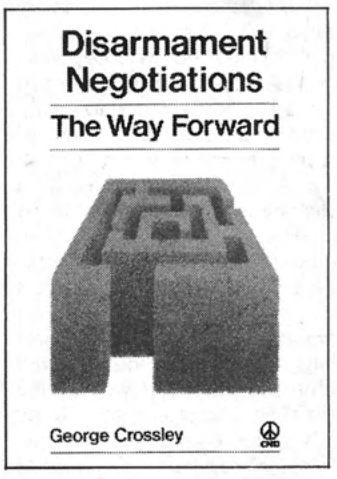
Reviews

DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS: THE WAY FORWARD

George Crossley

CND Publications, 90p



The official mythology says: 'there is multilateralism (good) and unilateralism (bad), and they are two separate things'. This piece of mythology is so deep-seated that it is unconsciously accepted by almost everybody, including many CND supporters who, while choosing 'unilateralism' rather than 'multilateralism', assume that there is a basic antithesis between them.

But this pamphlet shows, in detail, that 'unilateralism', far from being in some way opposed to 'multilateralism', represents the only hope of making it successful. To put it another way: as well as all its other advantages, 'unilateralism' has the extra virtue ot being an essential precondition for the success of 'multilateral' or 'bilateral' nuclear negotiations.

One reason for the power of the myth, even in the peace movement, is that the policy of the Thatcher and Reagan governments, to which 'unilateralism' is indeed absolutely antithetical, is often presented (falsely) as 'multilateralism'. This policy consists of making (or supporting) proposals designed to appear fair in the Western media, but which, in practice, create or enshrine Western quantitative or qualitative advantage. One example of this was the US insistence that only land-based systems should be counted in the European nuclear 'balance'.

The first part of this pamphlet is a useful summary of how this technique, usually in the hands of the Americans but sometimes of the Soviets, destroyed negotiations in all three vital areas: Intermediate (Geneva), Strategic (START), and Mutual Force Reduction (Vienna).

If mutual nuclear disarmament can't take place in this manner, how then *can* it occur? This brings us to the argument's second stage, which is based on Charles Osgood's *An Alternative to War or Surrender* (1962). Osgood spelled out the way in which, through unilateral measures, two or more countries can bring about genuine arms control agreements.

This process is called GRIT ('graduated reciprocation in tension reduction'). The first step should begin the gradual process of creating mutual trust. Obviously this first step has to be 'unilateral'. And the fact is that there are possible unilateral initiatives which could not conceivably damage the security of the nuclear power that made them, and which, if made in the right manner, would be likely to produce a comparable measure from the other side. If there is reciprocation, then another unilateral initiative could be made, and so on. In this way mutual trust, which is not needed at the start, is produced gradually by mutual self-interest. If successful, we find ourselves putting the nuclear arms race cautiously into reverse.

The next fascinating step in the argument is to show that this is not just abstract theory. It has already had some success. Crossley points to the importance of unilateral initiatives in achieving the SALT agreements, the 1972 Bioloaical and Toxic Weapons Convention, the prevention of a Russian neutron bomb, and so on. Most interesting of all is the series of unilateral and reciprocated moves started by President

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Kennedy less than a year after the Cuban missile crisis. This produced within seven months a rapid thaw on various fronts of the Cold War as well as three arms control agreements: the Partial Test Ban Treaty, the 'Hot Line' Agreement, and the Outer Space Treaty. The process was finally ended by the assassination of Kennedy.

Whatever the limitations of these achievements, they clearly demolish the argument that the Soviets would never respond to a Western unilateral initiative: the fact is that they have already done so on many occasions.

The theory of GRIT was originally worked out as a process between the superpowers. In a final section Crossley shows how it might apply to UK-Soviet relations, and adds an appendix on the astonishing voting record of our 'multilateral' government in the only forum in which they have a place at the negotiating table: the UN. They have either abstained on or voted against almost the entire range of innocuous multilateral measures proposed; e.g. they voted against a proposal which did nothing more than request the Committee on Disarmament to negotiate to achieve 'agreement on appropriate and practical measures for the prevention of a nuclear war'.

Crossley is dangerously over-optimistic on one point only. True though it is that the Soviets see the SS20 as equivalent to Polaris among other missiles, the build-up of Cruise and Pershing II will change the situation in such a way that I cannot be as confident as Crossley is that the scrapping of Polaris would result in reciprocal scrapping of some of the SS20s. (This makes it all the more vital to prevent full deployment of Cruise and Pershing II.)

The great value of this pamphlet is that it provides an argument for 'unilateralism' which will be effective with people who are not impressed by the other arguments and regard themselves as 'multilateralists'. It is therefore an argument that we cannot afford to neglect. The prospects of preventing the holocaust may depend not so much on the numbers at demonstrations (important though they are) as on the numbers who are prepared to propagate where it matters the case presented in this pamphlet.

● **Richard Seaford is a member of CND National Council.**

Norman Leach previews the '3D' Peace Play Festival

What have the following places in common? Canterbury, Coventry, Cambridge and Cumbernauld; Hampstead, Hull, Hammersmith and Hebden Bridge, Aberdeen and Aylesbury? Answer: They are some of the forty or more towns and cities where you can see a Peace Play during October and November. Earlier this year members of the Theatre Writers Union asked theatre companies to perform a play for peace this autumn. The result is a series of anti-war plays and events taking place almost the length and breadth of the country. The Peace Play Festival.

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● Diverse. Some tackle war head on, others take an oblique approach. Some deal with nuclear war, others attack all war. Some are surreal, others naturalistic.

● Dependent on the involvement of local peace groups for success. By setting up book and information stalls, exhibitions relating the plays' content to the present peace/war debate and by holding discussions. Groups can make it part of their campaign rather than just passive entertainment.

I believe that theatre, because it engages the imagination and intuition as well as the intellect, can reach those who are immune to statistics and logical argument.

I remember the stunned silence that followed a performance of *Where the Wind Blows* I was at last year. People filed out shattered by the experience. If we had then had the foresight to set up an information and recruiting stall I believe CND could have gained one hundred new members from that evening alone.

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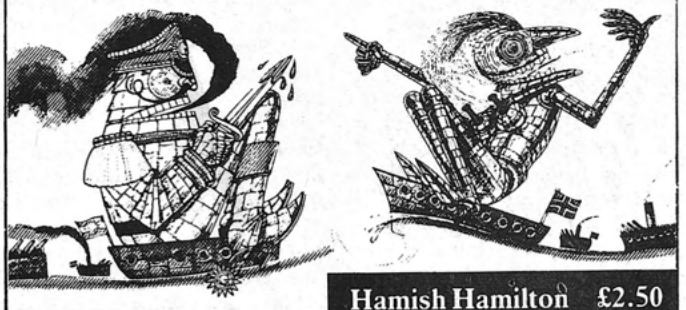

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● Theatre Workshop *Oh What a Lovely War* (Contact Theatre, Manchester). Shows how an earlier arms race led to the carnage of World War One.

● Patrick MacGill *Suspense* (Edinburgh Theatre Workshop, touring Scotland and Northern England). Uses a tense incident in the trenches during World War One to demonstrate the futility and waste of all war.

● Kai Kong *'I am a Hibakusha'* (Cambridge Mummers, touring Cambridge and London). About one of the 90,000 outcast Korean victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Recently given highly acclaimed simultaneous premieres in Tokyo, Budapest and Edinburgh.

● Stephen Lowe *Touched* (Oldham Coliseum). Shows high hopes of happiness and peace at the end of World War Two in Europe suddenly destroyed by the dropping of atom bombs on Japan.

● Deborah Levy *Pax* (Women's Theatre Group, touring South Eastern England, East Midlands, West Midlands, Yorkshire and North Western England). Powerful surreal play exploring alternatives of war and peace today through the meeting of four women in an empty house.

● Stephen Lowe *Body and Soul* (Royal Court Theatre, London). Two humans are running away from the shadow of nuclear disaster. Together they learn to face reality.

● Christina Reid *Tea in A China Cup* (Riverside Studios, Hammersmith, London). Three generations of Northern Irish mothers, two of whom have sacrificed a son to the siren call of war. The third refuses.

● William Gibson *Handy Dandy* (Rehearsed Reading, London). An elderly nun gives her life to the cause of nuclear disarmament. International Women's Peace Initiative are organising world-wide performances of this play on October 14th.

● Una Brandon Jones *The Storm* (Fallout Theatre, touring London and South Eastern England).

● MEND Street Theatre *The End of the World Show* (touring London). Two rousing and comic direct attacks on the Cold War and the Arms Race.

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● *The Arvon Foundation* Lumb Bank, Hebden Bridge are running a Writing for Theatre course (tutors Bryony Lavery and Stephen Low) where you can come and write your own peace play!

● The second edition of the Peace Play Register, published in October, lists over 350 peace plays. The Peace Play Festival offers just a sample of the total. Happy sampling!

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Beginning Now is published by Dunamis, a church-based educational foundation, operating from St James's Church, Piccadilly, London. The two volumes (and accompanying tape for group leaders) are the outcome of working parties set up by Dunamis to study aspects of peace, justice, security and related issues.

They are intended to 'advance Christian understanding of peacemaking in theory and practice, without being partisan or advocating any particular programme or set of policies for peacemaking'. This needs to be remembered by those who read these books. They are not CND or Christian CND texts, and because of this may find a wider market.

The books are well produced, but although Part Two follows from the more theoretical Part One, they are quite different.

I am sure that Williams and Collier's examination of peacemaking theology in Part One will be a valuable contribution to the Christian peace debate. It will be useful both for those already active in the peace movement and for those who are exploring the issues for the first time. It is a refreshing look at theology, and looks at both the Old and New Testament. It does not write the former off as 'war-like' or neatly package the latter as 'pacifist'.

The Old Testament covenant between God and Israel and the New Testament covenant between God and the Church are looked at in the light of the search for security. Where our security lies and how it is to be protected is important in biblical thought, yet few books on the theology of peace have examined it. The call of the prophets to place security not in chariots and horses but in the Lord is a call that has renewed relevance today as we find ourselves placing our security in the spiralling arms race, which some Americans have called the 'gods of metal'.

From the question of security to that of the often used and abused term 'peace'. The 'peace' of the Bible, Shalom (Hebrew) and Eirene (Greek) mean far more than the English translation. The narrowness of the English language is often reflected in the narrow vision of those who seem concerned with peacemaking. The anti-nuclear movement is presented with a challenge not to see the avoidance of nuclear conflict as the sole issue in peacemaking. We must also be concerned with justice, 'for the global struggle for liberty and righteousness'.

There is also a good section on 'enemies', something not often touched on in either Christian or secular peace literature. The weakest part of the book is the examination of power and conflict. It is good as far as it goes, but barely touches the issue of non-violence, which is of great importance in the peace debate, both for theorists and for activists.

After Part One, Part Two was disappointing. Pam Lunn attempts to do too much, and bends over backwards to be all things to all people, to live up to the Dunamis precept of being 'non-partisan'. Pam Lunn's book tries to deal with a lot: how to change our perceptions of other nations, how to form a peace group, how to write to your MP and use the structures of democracy, how to use the media, peacemaking with children and families, peace education and international linking. There is also an annotated resource section for further study.

But some sections are useful. The section on our perception of the world – north and south, east and west – is enlightening on the way that simple geography can influence our national feelings of power or of being under threat. The section on facilitating small groups would be useful to anyone running workshops or involved in an affinity group, but this is information that can be found elsewhere.

Peacemaking in Practice sets itself a wide agenda and an enormous task. Its main weakness is to assume the readers will act by forming their own groups rather than join an existing one, and that the readers will not become committed and 'partisan'. Several CND publications are mentioned but there is no mention anywhere of Christian CND, which is probably one of the largest Christian peace groups in the country.

It is also a pity that peacemaking does not go beyond letters to MPs and using the media in the public sphere. But I suppose it would have made Pam Lunn's agenda even longer to have included peacemaking as witness, be that legal witness, in the forms of protest demonstrations, or civil disobedience. One example of such action in the case studies would have shifted the emphasis from the peacemaking based wholly on dialogue, allowing room for the growing resistance movement among Christians in this country. As the US peace activist Jim Douglas said, 'Resistance without dialogue is cynical; but dialogue without resistance is sentimentality.'

Williams and Collier in Part One of *Beginning Now* say there can be no neutral ground. They also talk of a covenant of faith which calls members of the covenant to a Holy Obedience, which may be at odds with the demands of their society. An explanation of what such Holy Obedience may entail could have appeared in the 'practical' section of *Beginning Now*.

● **Barbara Eggleston, Christian CND National Organiser.**

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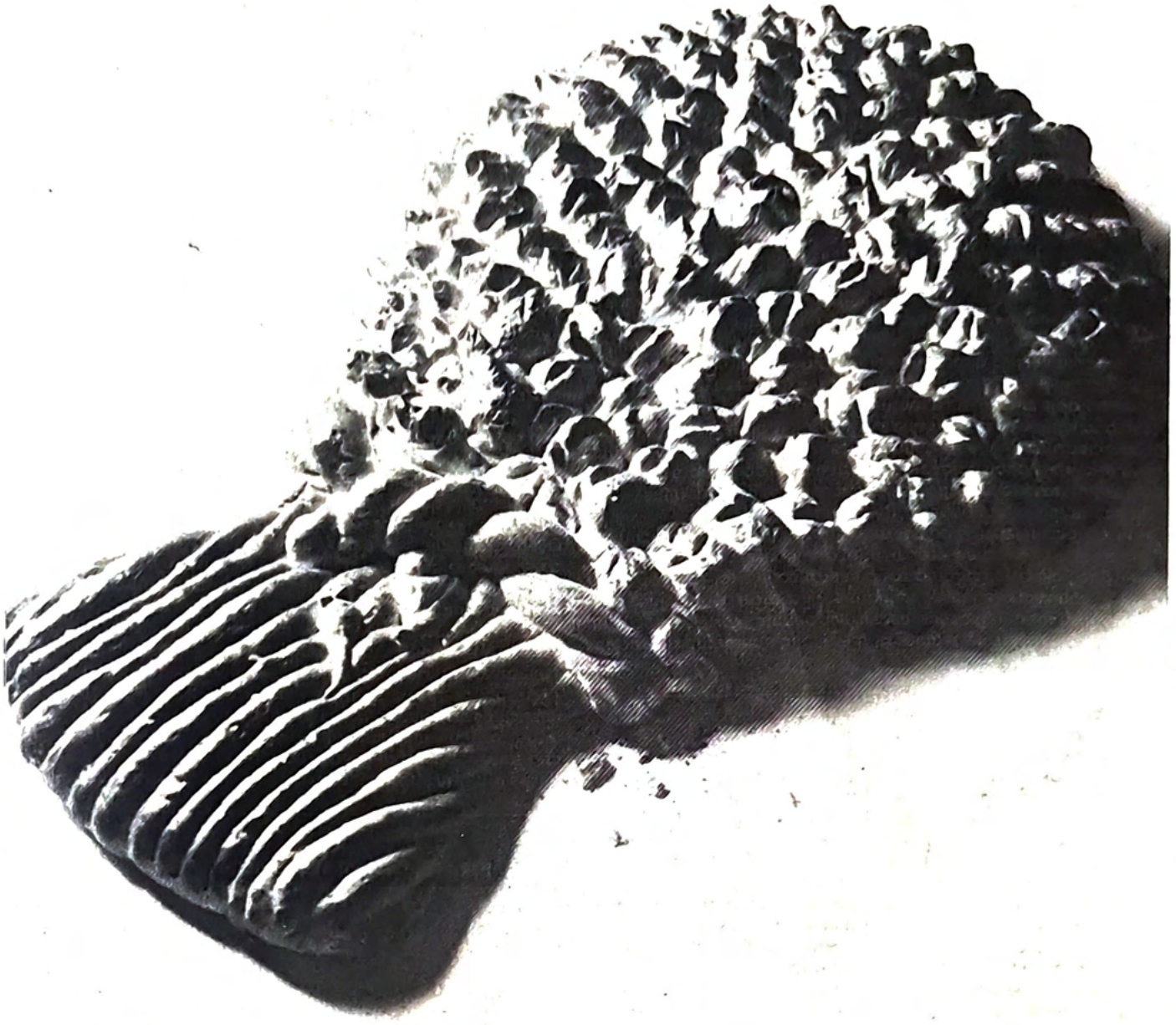

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EVENTS

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Month by month our quick-check reference list charts the build up of nuclear war preparations – and the growth of the worldwide movement for peace.

AUGUST 1984 — *President Reagan's joke about bombing Russia; 14 Pacific nations declare themselves nuclear-free; more evidence that Mrs Thatcher needlessly sank the* Belgrano *in order to scupper South Atlantic peace moves; Greenham women lose their anti-Cruise court case, get attacked by thugs (again) and threatened by Mrs Thatcher, but remain determined and defiant; all over Britain and the world the 39th anniversary of the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is commemorated. It was all in the headlines in August 1984.*

1st. WASHINGTON DC: US Federal Court Judge rejects legal case against Cruise missiles brought by Greenham women. An appeal is likely. **LONDON:** Director of Public Prosecutions says British Nuclear Fuels Ltd will be prosecuted in connection with radioactive contamination of Irish Sea. **SANTA BARBARA, USA:** US National Security Advisor Robert McFarlane writes off space weapons talks with USSR. **LONDON:** New Labour statement on non-nuclear defence is said to be the party's most coherent and clearest commitment to nuclear disarmament to date.

2nd. LONDON: The *Sun* calls CND 'a pack of self-serving hypocrites' for spreading information about the effects of nuclear weapons and 'alarming and upsetting people who might be old or ill'.

3rd. MOSCOW: Nikolai Khramov, member of the independent Group of Trust peace group, arrested after refusing a medical check for military service. **GREAT BRITAIN:** Conservative Party announces that twenty local Conservative associations have tabled annual conference motions condemning Peace Studies.

5th. LONDON: *Observer* reports that funds for building the second British Cruise base, Molesworth, have been frozen by the Pentagon. **HIROSHIMA:** 20,000 peace campaigners hold rally. **WASHINGTON DC:** Reagan Science Advisor Dr George Keyworth announces £40,000,000 study of the 'nuclear winter' theory. 'Clearly this is an area of public concern and deserves far better assessment,' he says.

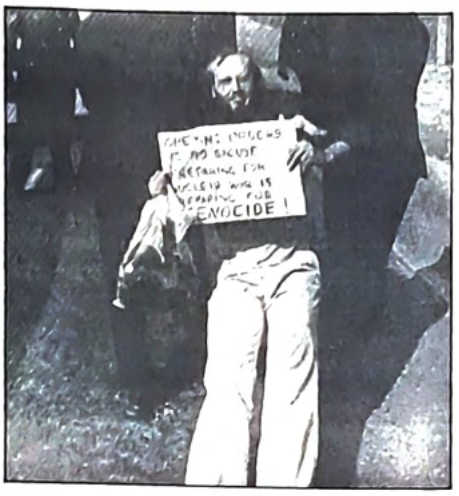

PHOTO: MARK SALMON

31st THE MESSAGE: Non-violent protester hauled away from a blockade of the Alconbury USAF base, East Anglia.

6th. USAF ALCONBURY, CAMBRIDGESHIRE: Fifteen Christian CND supporters break into USAF European nuclear war HQ to mark 39th anniversary of Hiroshima bombing. Hundreds of other protest actions take place throughout Britain. **NEW YORK:** Four Greenpeace protestors climb Statue of Liberty in Hiroshima protest. **LONDON:** Labour Party unveils new non-nuclear policy which promises to send back Cruise, cancel Trident, remove US bases, scrap Polaris, but stay in NATO.

7th. CAPE CANAVERAL, FLORIDA: First successful test flight of Pershing II under 'European Battlefield' conditions. **GOUROCK, STRATHCLYDE:** Inverclyde District Council serves notice to quit on Home Office post-attack nuclear monitoring bunker. **DERBYSHIRE:** County Council offers 23,000 women employees seven days unpaid leave to attend September's peace rallies at Greenham Common.

8th. GREENHAM COMMON: US soldiers remove women protesters from the main gate as they attempt to block the return of US trucks on military manoeuvre.

9th. NAGASAKI, JAPAN: 20,000 rally to commemorate 39th anniversary of bombing of Nagasaki and to protest against US Cruise missiles. Mayor Hitoshi Motoshima added 2,217 names to the official register of deaths caused by the bomb, bringing the total to 64,186.

10th. LONDON: CND chairperson Joan Ruddock awarded the first annual Frank Cousins Peace Prize.

12th. ISLE OF MAN: US Poseidon submarine *Nathanael Greene* loses propeller in Irish Sea just off the southern tip of the Isle of Man. The sub is towed back to Holy Loch, Scotland. **BALCOMBE, MID-SUSSEX:** Civil engineer John Emin applies for planning permission to build a 'fortification' over his recently built £150,000 private nuclear shelter. He wants to keep out uninvited guests.

6th. NEVER AGAIN: Campaigners in Wanstead, East London, mark Hiroshima day.

PHOTO: LONDON AND ESSEX GUARDIAN NEWSPAPERS

PHOTO: CAROL-ANN ALLEN

19th STEPPING OUT: YCND marchers arrive for Wormwood Scrubs festivities.

13th. WASHINGTON DC: President Reagan, during a sound test before his weekly radio broadcast to the nation, says: 'My fellow Americans. I am pleased to tell you I have signed legislation to outlaw Russia, forever. We begin bombing in five minutes.' It was a joke, he said, not intended for broadcast.

14th. STRATFORD-ON-AVON: J B Priestley, writer and founder member of CND, dies aged 89. **WASHINGTON DC:** Senior Reagan aide Michael K Deaver reports that the President 'has difficulty in staying awake' during meetings.

16th. SAN CLEMENTE, CALIFORNIA: First successful Cruise missile test with 'live' (but non-nuclear) warhead. **WASHINGTON DC:** Pentagon reveals that more than a dozen Trident-I missiles have been withdrawn from service because of faults.

18th. WHITEHALL: Ministers order crackdown on leakers after more revelations about the *Belgrano* affair.

19th. WORMWOOD SCRUBS PARK, LONDON: 130 long-distance marchers arrive to open Youth CND *Jobs not Bombs* festival.

20th. LONDON: Bruce Kent joins Lord Soper, Michael Foot, Lady Antonia Fraser, Harold Pinter and others in protest vigil about peace prisoners in Turkey, the USSR and elsewhere.

21st. AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND: CND chairperson Joan Ruddock comments on non-nuclear policy of newly elected New Zealand government. 'The Labour victory was tremendous news to all of us in Europe,' she says. **GREENHAM COMMON:** Tents slashed and women attacked by thugs. **HIGH WYCOMBE, BUCKS:** MoD announces that work has begun on new US nuclear war command centre at Daws Hill – estimated cost: $50,000,000. **DALLAS, TEXAS:** Republican Party convention resolves that US should have enough nuclear weapons to 'prevail' in nuclear war.

23rd. LONDON: Admiral Lewin, a Navy Chief at the time of the Falklands war, denies that the Cabinet was advised to consider using nuclear weapons against Argentina.

25th. BRAWDY, WEST WALES: Nine women protesters arrested after blockading US Navy spy base. **WHITEHALL:** Clive Potting, a top MoD civil servant, vows to fight Official Secrets prosecution connected with leaked *Belgrano* papers.

26th. WASHINGTON DC: President Reagan calls supporters of the US peace movement's 'freeze' proposal 'jackasses'. **ENGLISH CHANNEL:** 5,800-ton freighter *Mont Louis* sinks with cargo of radioactive uranium gas en route from France to the Soviet Union. **MOSCOW:** Soviet Union announces successful test of long-range cruise missiles. CND condemns the move, saying 'additional missiles in the Soviet Union add to no-one's security and increase insecurity for all'.

27th. LONDON: Jim Slater, head of the seamen's union, calls for tighter control of nuclear shipments after *Mont Louis* disaster. **FUNAFUTI, TUVALU, PACIFIC:** Leaders of 14 Pacific nations including Australia and New Zealand declare the Pacific a nuclear-free zone. The treaty, unveiled by Australian Prime Minister Hawke, outlaws the storage, acquisition, use and manufacture of nuclear weapons in the Pacific.

28th. LONDON: Mrs Thatcher tells Newbury MP Michael McNair-Wilson that she is backing attempts to evict the Greenham peace camp from Transport Ministry land.

29th. OSTENDE, BELGIUM: French government admits that *Mont Louis* was carrying enriched uranium – presenting a much greater leak risk – after four-day cover up. **EDWARDS AIRFORCE BASE, CALIFORNIA:** Prototype B-1 bomber crashes killing one of the crew.

30th. BUCHAREST, ROUMANIA: Roumanian government announces that it will not take part in Warsaw Pact exercise planned for early September. **NEVADA:** Tenth US underground nuclear test explosion this year. **ROXBY DOWNS, SOUTH AUSTRALIA:** Fifty demonstrators arrested in protest at uranium mine. **NEW DELHI, INDIA:** Premier Indira Gandhi signs multi-million arms deal with USSR. The Soviets will supply tanks, missiles and planes.

20th. SOLIDARITY: Bruce Kent (left) and Michael Foot (centre) join vigil for peace rights worldwide.

PHOTO: THE GUARDIAN

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SP: *Speaker*
FMH: *Friends Meeting House*

Every effort is made to include Listings, but we can't guarantee inclusion. CND groups and affiliates only. Non-CND groups, and CND groups wanting guaranteed inclusion , should use the classified ads section.

In future, please check, and let us know, what facilities are available for wheelchair users, the deaf, and other people with disabilities. We will then include such material in the Listings.

NATIONAL

Thurs Sept 20th-30th. Greenham. TEN MILLION WOMEN. TEN DAYS. Women from all over the country, and from abroad, coming together for peace at USAF Greenham Common, while elsewhere millions of men take part in NATO exercises. C: 01-833 2831.

END SPEAKERS TOUR: BEYOND THE BLOCS. Series of meetings aiming to break down bloc hostility in Europe, and to encourage direct citizen communication between East and West. Speakers will include: E P Thompson, Dan Smith, Mary Kaldor, David Blunkett, Dafyd Ellis Thomas, with speakers from East and West Europe and the Third World. Venues: October 1st, CHESTER: 2nd, HUDDERSFIELD; 3rd, SHREWSBURY; 4th, SHEFFIELD; 5th, WIGAN; 6th STOKE ON TRENT; 9th, SUTTON COLDFIELD; 10th, OXFORD; 11th, ST ALBANS; 12th, HACKNEY, LONDON; 13th, BATH. Further information from: Fiona Weir, END, Southbank House, Black Prince Rd, London SE1 7SJ. 01-587 1563.

Oct 8-12th. Brighton. Conservative Party Conference. There will be anti-Trident protests by CND and other groups during the conference week, to get the message across to the Tories themselves, and take advantage of media coverage. Local CND are keen for you to come for the week, to hold placards, leaflet, join street theatre and attend fringe meetings. They can organise accommodation and have arranged social events, a mock Trident submarine, and on Wednesday 10th, a rally with Bruce Kent and Dan Plesch. C: Roger, 0273 471231 or Sue 0273 555776.

Oct 21st-27th. 'Let's Talk About Trident'. Starting with a door-to-door canvass on Sunday 21st, groups all over the country will be aiming to awaken their locality to the facts about Trident. During the week, each section of CND has its own day in which to get discussion going in its particular field. Hopefully by October 27th there'll be no one left in the country who doesn't at least know the issues.

Sat Oct 27th.
BARROW-IN-FURNESS. Hot on the heels of discussion comes the demonstration, centred on the Trident Dock, where Vickers are building the submarines. At 2pm, following the firing of mock missiles, there will be a 'die-in', after which people will join hands and encircle the Dock. Then there will be a four-minute silence, in memory of those who have suffered from the nuclear arms race. At 3.30pm there will be a rally overlooking the Dock, at which CND will present a cheque to finance a research worker into funding peaceful alternative employment for the Barrow workforce.

Fri 23rd-25th November. NATIONAL CND CONFERENCE, Sheffield. Details from Duncan Rees at CND, 11 Goodwin St, London,N4 3HQ. Please note that closing dates for receipt of registrations are: October 8th with accommodation, and November 5th without accommodation. If you require registration forms or have any queries about registration please contact Elizabeth Crosier at Goodwin St.

This Month . . .

. . . Whether you're in Brighton, Brawdy or Barrow, or anywhere between, there's something you can do to help rock the Trident boat.

You can support the END Speakers' Tour, on the road for two weeks; there are demonstrations, vigils, meetings and festivals. From the 21st to the 26th local groups everywhere will be talking about Trident to their areas. On the 27th Trident will be in the Dock at Barrow with a jury of thousands. The Tories will be Talking About It too, and it's our job to make them think twice: **it's not all right.**

SCOTLAND

Sat Oct 20th. Helensburgh, Strathclyde. Helensburgh CND and Faslane Peace Camp Fair, with stalls and workshops, speakers including Joan Ruddock, and music. 9.30am till late in Victoria Hall. C: Iain Macdonald, 0436 820719.

Sat Oct 20th. Scottish Liberal CND meeting. SP: Joan Ruddock, David Miller. C: Graeme Brown, 36 Wellshot Drive, Cambuslang, Glasgow. 041-641 1489.

Nov 1st-Nov 30th, Faslane. 'TURN THE TIDE'. Thirty Days of protest against Trident, including mass rallies at the gates on the 1st and 30th. C: Faslane Peace Camp, below St Andrew's School, Shandon nr. Helensburgh, Dumbartonshire. Or tel: Iain Macdonald, 0436 829719.

For details of buses from Scotland to Barrow for Oct 27th, contact SCND: 041-331 2878.

NORTHERN IRELAND

Sat Oct 20th. Belfast CND day school at Ulster People's College, 30 Adelaide Park, Belfast 9. Talks and discussion include 'N. Ireland and NATO' and 'Civil Defence'. Creche and light lunch available, evening social. C: Robin Wilson, Belfast 662271.

CYMRU

Sat Oct 6th. Brawdy. 'Harvest of Peace and Justice at US Brawdy'. 1pm to 4pm. Service followed by vigil. SP: D R Thomas, Aberystwyth. Music from folk singer Tecwyn Ifan. Organised by Dyfed Christian CND. C: Rhodri Thomas, St Clears 230121.

Thurs Oct 11th. Neath, West Glamorgan. A meeting organised by Neath CND on the theme of opposition to the Trident programme. The Old Town Hall, Neath, 7.30pm. SP: Denzil Davies MP (Shadow Defence spokesperson). C: Huw Pudner, Skewen 813670.

Sat Oct 20th. 'ROF LLANISHEN OPEN DAY'. As part of CND's Anti-Trident Week of Action, there will be a mass trespass, religious service, mass photography session and a balloon release at Wales's Trident warhead factory. 6am-6pm. For further details, C: Chris Jackson 0222 489260 or Debbi Reid 0222 515239.

For details of a train from Swansea to Barrow, Oct 27th, C: 0792 476178.

YORKSHIRE AND HUMBERSIDE

Sep 27th-Oct 17th. Leeds. LEEDS PEACE FILM FESTIVAL '84. A series of films (including, among many others, *Silkwood* and *The War Game*) at the Hyde Park Picture House, Leeds 6, and the Trades Club, Saville Mount. For more details C: Leeds 743057 or 741011.

Thurs Oct 4th. Wakefield. Public meeting organised by Wakefield CND and Wakefield and District Christians for Peace, at Ossett Town Hall at 7.30pm. Bruce Kent will speak on Trident, NATO and the threat of nuclear war. C: Chris Pritchard, 0924 825507.

Sat Oct 6th. Doncaster CND Anti-Trident Day School. SP: Danny Pearson, Martin Meteyard, Rev Ian Miller and Malcolm Chalmers, followed by campaigning and discussion groups. £5 for delegates and individuals; £2 unwaged and striking delegates – to include lunch and course notes. United Reform Church, The Hallgate, Doncaster. C: John Hughes 0302 859015.

NORTH WEST

Wed Oct 3rd. Chester. 'A Year after *The Day After*'. A showing of the US TV film at FMH, Frodsham St at 8pm. C: Kevin Piper 0244 378555.

Oct 5-14th. LIVERPOOL PEACE FESTIVAL. A free festival in Otterspool Park, with food, stalls, various events including a 'Nuclear Maze', and bands. Space for camping. C: 051-236 0748.

Tues Oct 9th. Stretford, Manchester. 'Civil Defence in Trafford – What's It All About?' Stretford Civic Theatre, Chester Rd, Stretford, Manchester, 8pm. SP: representatives from Scientists against Nuclear Arms, The Medical Campaign against Nuclear Weapons, Trade Union CND and others, plus a screening of Trafford CND's tape/slide programme on civil defence preparations in Trafford. Organised by Trafford CND. C: Roger Croft, 061-864 1167.

Fri Oct 19th. Burley. A public meeting at the Labour Club, Smirthwaite St, with Bruce Kent and other speakers. 7.30pm. C: K Reade 26859.

WEST MIDLANDS

Wed Oct 3rd. Solihull CND social gathering at Golden Lion pub, Union Rd, Solihull, 8pm. C: Georgina Parisi, 021-745 8249.
Mon Oct 15th. Solihull CND business meeting, at 82 Watwood Rd, Shirley, Solihull, 8pm. C: Georgina Parisi, 021-745 8249.
Fri Oct 19th-Sun Oct 21st. 'Defence by Other Means'. PAX CHRISTI weekend conference at Spode Conference Centre, Rugeley, Staffordshire. With the help of Stan Windass of *Just Defence*, and Walter Stein, co-author of *Defence without the Bomb*, there will be lectures and workshops to consider topics including: Non-Nuclear Defence, Civilian Resistance, The Practice Of Non-Violence, Conscientious Objection, International Law, and 'Women and Children First?' There will also be videos and films. Bookings in advance. Contact Pax Christi on 01-727 4609 for details and prices.

WEST

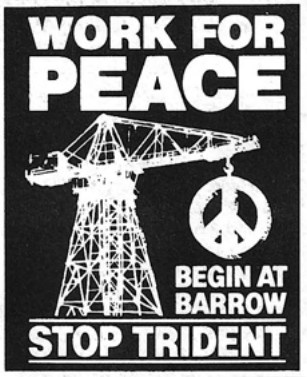
Sat Oct 20th. One World Week water walk. Starts on outskirts of Bath 2pm. Bring own containers. Experience something of the daily struggle of millions of the world's women and children. We aim to deliver the water to Warship Design Services Ltd, who are doing design work on Trident submarines. Supported by CND and other groups. C: Hugh, Bath 64234.

EAST MIDLANDS

Mon Oct 15th. Leicester. 'Trident – Who Needs It?' Meeting at Blackfriar's Hall, Holy Cross Centre, Wellington St, with Alan Walker (dept of Physics, Edinburgh University). 7.30pm. C: Leicester CND office, 0533 554684 (12-6pm).
RECLAIM CHILWELL. A video account of the mass trespass at Chilwell depot on July 1st. Colour VHF tape, 46 minutes long. A valuable aid for NVDA. Available for hire, free to Nottingham groups, £2.50 p&p to others. C: Jerky Collective, 42 Foxhall Rd, Forest Fields, Nottingham. 0602 784963.

SOUTHERN

Wed Oct 10th. Aldershot. Showing of the film *Dark Circle* followed by discussion at 8pm in St Joseph's Hall, organised by Aldershot CND. C: John Smith 0252 24332.
Sun Oct 14th. Upper Heyford, Oxfordshire. Pensioners For Peace International. Unite for Peace and Disarmament. 'There is no future for our grandchildren in Nuclear War'. 12 noon-3pm. C: Harry Horrobin, Darenth, Roadwater, Watchet, Somerset. Tel: 0984 40341.
Weds Oct 24th. Fratton, Portsmouth. 'Military Strategy and Sea-Launched Cruise', a public meeting at Wesley Hall, Fratton. SP: Bruce Kent, Dan Plesch, Brigadier Harbottle. 7.30pm. C: Portsmouth 832127.
Every first Tuesday, Woking. Woking CND group meeting. FMH, Park Rd, Woking, 8pm. C: Byfleet 46377.



LONDON

Mon Oct 1st. Greenwich CND AGM. 8pm at Charlton House.
Tues Oct 2nd, Pimlico CND AGM. Review of the year's activities, election of officers, campaigning plans for '85, followed by wine, cheese and conversation. Labour Party Rooms, 2 Denbigh Place, SW1. C: David Ball, 01-730 4833. 8pm.
Sat Oct 6/Sun 7th. Christian CND Annual Conference at Notre Dame High School, Southwark, SE1. 'Dialogue and Resistance in the Nuclear State'. Details and registration forms, C: Barbara Eggleston at National CND, 01-263 0977.
Tues Oct 9th. Bromley CND. 'The Environment and Nuclear Weapons' – a talk by Ted Jarvis at the FMH, Ravensbourne Rd, Bromley, 8pm. C: John Grey on 01-290 5403.
Wed Oct 10th. CND – What the papers don't say. Public meeting at 7pm in St Brides Institute, Brides Lane, EC4. SP: Joan Ruddock, Mick Power (NGA), Jean Stead (*Guardian*), SOGAT, Jake Ecclestone (NUJ). Organised by TUCND and Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom. C: Andrew, 01-263 0977 or 01-437 2795.
Thurs Oct 18th. Highgate CND. Public Meeting, 8.00pm, Jackson Lane Community Centre, N6. SP: Dame Judith Hart MP. Free.
Every Friday night from 6-11pm in Marble Arch there is a Cruise Vigil. Phone 01-764 0088 for details.

SOUTH EAST

Wed Oct 3rd. Meeting and discussion of Nuclear Winter with George Loveday, at New Village Hall, High St, Orpington, 8pm.

EAST ANGLIA

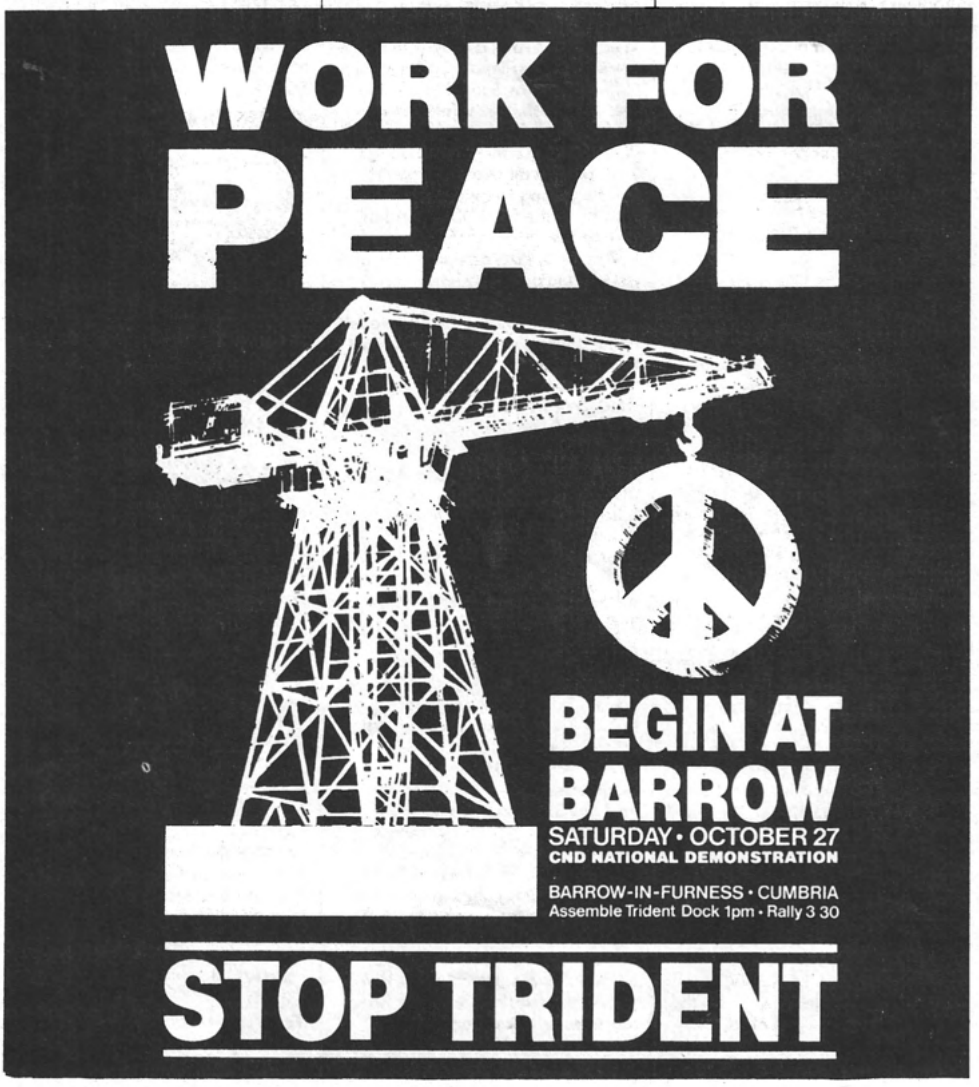
Tues Oct 2nd. Lincoln. Public meeting and SANA Nuclear Winter video introduced by a National Council Member. 8pm FMH, Beaumont Fee, Lincoln. C: Ray Longmore, 0522 39205.

SOUTH MIDLANDS

Tues Oct 16th. High Wycombe Public meeting at the Lady Verney School, 8pm. SP: Joan Ruddock. C: Cedric Hetherington, 06284 4664.

SOUTH WEST

Mon Oct 22nd. Lewes, Dorset. One World Week: Children's Funday. Theme: 'Women and Children First?' C: Leonie Mercer, Lewes 78231, or Dinah Prior, Lewes 77019.



KAREN LEWTON AT LARGE

Captain's Log, Star Date one-nine-eight-four point twelve-six. While in standard orbit around a primitive Class-M planet, we have encountered a puzzling phenomenon. An image has appeared on our screens whose origins and purpose are entirely unknown to us.

Kirk : Opinions gentlemen?
Sulu : It looks like – like the rods of an old-style umbrella, Captain, opened out. Huge. Metallic.
Kirk : Fanciful, Mr Sulu. Any explanation, Mr Spock?
Spock : Negative, Captain. Mr Sulu is in effect correct. It is a large umbrella-shaped structure composed of metal rods, concerning the purpose of which I will not speculate.
McCoy : Who the hell would be damn-fool enough to put up an umbrella in space?
Spock : That remains to be seen, Doctor.
Scotty : Captain, look! If yon's no' a ballistic missile approachin' Mr Spock's umbrella, I'll eat my anti-matter pods! Holy St Andrew! Will ye look at that noo! The umbrella's destroyed it! Blown it to bits!
Spock : Fascinating.
Uhura : Captain, I am intercepting a signal. Someone is out there, Sir.
Kirk : Put him on the screen, Lieutenant.
Chekov : Argh! Captain! It's horrible! Nothing can be that old! Look at that skin, those scaly folds! That unnatural black hair –
(Image on Screen) : I am Ron Uld, heh heh heh, President of the, er, whatsisname, pretty good apple pie, baseball, mother, all that stuff . . .
Kirk : Explanation, Mr Spock?
Spock : This is clearly a home-loving, domestic creature with delusions of grandeur, Captain. Limited mental power. Reduced sense of reality. Fascinating.
Ron Uld : Say, did you guys see our missile killer? Pretty good, eh? Give the Evil Empire something to think about, right? Kapow, whee . . . beep beep beep . . . pheeoo, pheeoo . . .
Kirk : The Evil Empire? The Klingons?
Uhura : Captain, I'm getting interference now from another source. A signal, Sir. On a Klingon hailing frequency.
Kirk : Let's see it, Uhura.
(Second Image) : I am the Commander of All the Klingons.
Kirk : Impossible. The Commander of All the Klingons is Androp the Android.
(Second Image) : Commander Androp has ceased to function. I am Chern.
Kirk : Commander Chern, can you explain your presence in this sector?
Chern : We are seeking meaningful dialogue with the creature known as Ron Uld, whom we believe to have erected an umbrella in the vicinity of this planet.
Ron Uld : Heh heh heh.
Chern : If this umbrella is not removed, we will have no alternative but to deploy our own Umbrella System, followed by our Oilskin System, our Sou'wester System, our Galoshes System . . .
McCoy : Jim, this is madness! It's got to be stopped!
Spock : I agree, Captain, that there is an immediate danger of the Universe becoming filled with large, metallic, so-called protective structures, leading to an increasing development of umbrella-piercing missiles, hardened umbrellas, and so ad infinitum. An undesirable outcome, Captain.
Kirk : Scotty, beam Ron Uld and Chern aboard. Spock, immediately upon materialisation, you will stun them with the Vulcan neck pinch. Energise, Scotty! Congratulations, Mr Spock.
Spock : My pleasure, Captain.
McCoy : Sure do wish you could teach that trick to my anaesthetist, Spock.
Scotty : What are we going to do with these two sleepin' beauties now, Captain?
McCoy : Wait, Jim! It's – unbelievable. Take a look. I just opened Ron Uld's shirt – and Jim – there's nothing there but plastic, batteries, circuits . . . For heavens sakes, Jim, I'm a doctor, not a watchmaker!
Spock : Chern is the same, Captain. An artefact.
Kirk : So what do we do next, gentlemen?
Spock : Dismantle them, Jim. The Universe will be a safer place.

Regional Contacts

BRITISH CND
**11 Goodwin St, London N4 3HQ
01-263 0977

1 SCOTTISH CND
**420 Sauchiehall St, Glasgow G2
041-331 2878
9.00am-4.00pm Mon-Fri
(5.30pm Tues)
10.00am-1.00pm Sat
Gen Sec: Margaret Morton
Organiser: Fiona Montgomery*
Administrator: Sheena Moreby*

2 NORTHERN IRELAND
10 Stranmilis Park, Belfast BT9
Lurgan 27250
Co-ordinator: Robin Wilson

3 IRISH CND
**16 Lower Liffy St, Dublin
0001 730877 (from UK)
10.00am-7.00pm Mon-Fri
11.00am-5.00pm Sat
National Secretary: Dermot Nolan

4 CND CYMRU – WALES
**30 Brokesby Close,
Pentrechwyth, Swansea SA1 7AQ
0792 476147
Secretary: Paul Nichols

Key to text:
Full-time worker*
Office address**

ENGLISH REGIONS

5 NORTHERN REGIONS
Northumberland, Tyne and Wear, Durham, Cleveland and Cumbria

30 Queens Rd, Blackhill, Consett,
County Durham DH8
0207-5000757
Contact: Paul Bayman

6 YORKSHIRE AND HUMBERSIDE
(North, West and South Yorkshire and Humberside)

10 Alandale Crescent, Garforth,
Leeds 0532-868489 (24 hrs)
Secretary: Bob Ward

7 NORTH WEST REGION
(Lancs, Greater Manchester, Merseyside, Cheshire, North Staffs,South Cumbria and Isle of Man)

54 Price Street, Burslem, Stoke on
Trent, Staffs 0782-813401
Secretary: Jason Hill
**Merseyside: c/o Unity Theatre, 1
Hope Place, Liverpool L1 9BG
051-708 7764
Contact: Linda Sloan
**Greater Manchester: 61 Bloom
St, Manchester M1 3LY 061-236
1588

8 WEST MIDLANDS
(South Staffs, Salop, Warwickshire, Herefordshire and Worcestershire: Wolverhampton, Birmingham)

**54 Allison St, Birmingham B5
021-632 6909
10.00am-6.00pm Mon-Fri
Organiser: Dave Lewis* and
Marcus Lynch*

9 WEST REGION
(Avon, Somerset, Glos and parts of Wilts)

7 Quarrington Rd, Horfield, Bristol
0272-513631
Organiser: Pat Wilson*

10 EAST MIDLANDS
(Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire)

Lincolnshire: 47 Thomas St,
Lincoln LN2 5BJ 0522-39205
Contact: Ray Longmore
Nottingham District: **Unit B,
14-18 St Mary's Gate,
Nottingham 0602-581948
*Leicester: CND shop*13 Welford
Rd, Leicester 0533-554684
Derbyshire: 60 Critchley St.
Ilkeston, Derbyshire 0602-305508
Contact: Dave Brooks

11 SOUTHERN REGION
Oxon, Hants, Berks, Isle of Wight, parts of Wilts and Surrey)

2 Stourbanks, Conifer Close,
Christchurch, Dorset 0202-477618
Contact: Terry McDowell

12 LONDON REGION
**6 Endsleigh St, London WC1 8DX
01-388 1628
Secretary Alistair Polson

13 SOUTH EAST
(Kent, Sussex and Surrey)

Tivoli Crescent, Brighton BN1
0273 555762
Contact: Alison Graham

14 EAST ANGLIA
(Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Cambridgeshire)

Hillcrest, Hinderclay, Diss, Norfolk
0379-898669
Secretary: Sue Spiller

15 SOUTH MIDLANDS
(Herts, Bucks, Northants and Bedfordshire)

Beds and North Bucks: 51 Knaves
Hill, Leighton Buzzard, Linslade,
Beds 0525-371823
Contact: Janet Bloomfield
South Bucks: 227 West Wycombe
Rd, High Wycombe, Bucks
Marlow 4664
Contact: Cedric Hetherington

1 Scottish CND
2 N. Ireland CND
3 Irish CND
4 CND Cymru
5 Northern region
6 Yorkshire region
7 North West region
8 West Midlands region
9 West region
10 East Midlands region
11 Southern region
12 London region
13 South East region
14 East Anglia region
15 South Midlands region
16 South West region

Northants: 106 High St, Wollaston,
Wellingborough, Northants
0933-663165
Contact: Gerry Cobb
South West Herts: 38 Meadow Rd,
Berkhamsted, Herts 04427-4741
Contact: Reg Comely
East Herts: 15 Digswell House,
Monks Rise, Welwyn Garden City
07073-28434
Contact: Oliver Dowlam

16 SOUTH WEST
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Hillside Cottages, Drayford,
Crediton, Devon EX1 0884-860624
Contact: Cherry Pearce

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CND

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WORK FOR PEACE

BEGIN AT BARROW

SATURDAY • OCTOBER 27

CND NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION

BARROW-IN-FURNESS • CUMBRIA

Assemble Trident Dock 1pm • Rally 3 30

STOP TRIDENT